

Wm Stafford

**IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS
CONCERNING
THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN**

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This booklet contains important documents on the question of Taiwan, arranged chronologically, between December 1943 and July 1955. It informs the reader of the true aspect of this issue—its historical background and international significance—of the justice of the stand of the Chinese Government and Chinese people with regard to it, and of their resolute determination to liberate their own territory, Taiwan.

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CAIRO DECLARATION OF CHINA, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

December 1, 1943

The several military missions have agreed upon future military operations against Japan. The Three Great Allies expressed their resolve to bring unrelenting pressure against their brutal enemies by sea, land, and air. This pressure is already rising.

The Three Great Allies are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion. It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa,¹ and the Pescadores,² shall be restored to the Republic of China. Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed. The aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent.

¹Taiwan.

²Penghu Islands.

With these objects in view the three Allies, in harmony with those of the United Nations at war with Japan, will continue to persevere in the serious and prolonged operations necessary to procure the unconditional surrender of Japan.

**EXCERPTS FROM POTSDAM DECLARATION DEFINING TERMS FOR JAPANESE SURRENDER
ISSUED BY CHINA, THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM**

July 26, 1945

1. We—the President of the United States, the President of the National Government of the Republic of China, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, representing the hundreds of millions of our countrymen, have conferred and agreed that Japan shall be given an opportunity to end this war.

.

8. The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.

**EXCERPTS FROM THE TEXT OF INSTRUMENT
OF JAPANESE SURRENDER SIGNED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT
AND THE UNITED NATIONS AT WAR WITH
JAPAN**

September 2, 1945

We, acting by command of and in behalf of the Emperor of Japan, the Japanese Government and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters, hereby accept the provisions set forth in the declaration issued by the heads of the Governments of the United States, China and Great Britain on 26 July 1945, at Potsdam, and subsequently adhered to by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which four powers are hereafter referred to as the Allied Powers.

.

We hereby undertake for the Emperor, the Japanese Government and their successors to carry out the provisions of the Potsdam Declaration in good faith, and to issue whatever orders and take whatever action may be required by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers or by any other designated representative of the Allied Powers for the purpose of giving effect to that Declaration.

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG'S ADDRESS AT THE EIGHTH MEETING OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT COUNCIL

June 28, 1950

The Chinese people have already affirmed that the affairs of the various countries throughout the world should be run by the peoples of these countries, and that the affairs of Asia should be run by the peoples of Asia and not by the United States. United States aggression in Asia will only arouse widespread and resolute resistance by the peoples of Asia.

Truman stated on January 5 this year that the United States would refrain from interfering in Taiwan. Now he has proved his own statement to be false, and has torn to shreds all the international agreements regarding non-interference by the United States in the internal affairs of China. This open self-exposure by the United States of its true imperialist face is beneficial to the people of China and all Asia.

There is no reason at all for American intervention in the internal affairs of Korea, the Philippines, Viet-Nam or other countries. The feelings of the people throughout China, as well as of the broad masses of the people everywhere in the world, will be on the side of those subjected to aggression, and most certainly not on the side of American imperialism. The people will neither be bought by imperialism nor

cowed by it. Imperialism is outwardly strong but feeble within, because it has no support among the people.

People throughout China and the world! Unite and make adequate preparation to defeat any provocation by American imperialism.

STATEMENT BY CHOU EN-LAI, FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, REFUTING TRUMAN'S STATEMENT OF JUNE 27, 1950

June 28, 1950

After instigating the puppet government of Syngman Rhee in South Korea to provoke civil war in Korea, President Truman of the United States of America made a statement on June 27, declaring that the United States Government had decided to prevent by armed force our liberation of Taiwan.

On Truman's order, the American Seventh Fleet has moved to the coast of Taiwan.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I declare that Truman's statement of June 27 and the action of the American navy constitute armed aggression against the territory of China and are a gross violation of the United Nations Charter. This violent, predatory action by the United States Government comes as no surprise to the Chinese people but only increases their wrath, because the Chinese people have, over a long period, consistently seen through all the conspiratorial schemes of American imperialism to commit aggression against China and seize Asia by force. In his statement, Truman merely exposes his premeditated plan and puts it into practice. In fact the attack by

the puppet Korean government of Syngman Rhee on the Korean Democratic People's Republic at the instigation of the United States Government was a premeditated move by the United States, designed to create a pretext for the United States to invade Taiwan, Korea, Viet-Nam and the Philippines. It is nothing but a further act of intervention by American imperialism in the affairs of Asia.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I declare that, no matter what obstructive action the American imperialists may take, the fact that Taiwan is part of China will remain unchanged for ever. This is not only a historical fact; it has also been confirmed by the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations and the situation since the surrender of Japan. All the people of our country will certainly fight single-mindedly and unceasingly to liberate Taiwan from the grasp of the American aggressors. The Chinese people, who have defeated Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, the hireling of American imperialism, will surely be victorious in driving out the American aggressors and in recovering Taiwan and all other territories belonging to China.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China calls on all peoples throughout the world who love peace, justice and freedom, and especially on all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East, to rise as one and halt the new aggression of American imperialism in the East. Such aggression can be completely defeated if we do not yield to threats but resolutely mobilize the broad masses of the people to

take part in the struggle against the war-makers. The Chinese people express their sympathy and respect towards the people of Korea, Viet-Nam, the Philippines and Japan who are similarly victims of U.S. aggression and are similarly fighting against it. The Chinese people firmly believe that all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East are undoubtedly capable of destroying the vicious and hated American imperialist war-makers once and for all in the great flames of struggle for national independence.

STATEMENT ON TAIWAN BY HARRY S. TRUMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

January 5, 1950

The U.S. Government has always stood for good faith in international relations. Traditional U.S. policy towards China, as exemplified in the Open Door policy, called for international respect for the territorial integrity of China. This principle was recently reaffirmed in the U.N. General Assembly resolution of December 8, 1949, which, in part, calls on all states "to refrain from (a) seeking to acquire spheres of influence or to create foreign-controlled regimes within the territory of China; (b) seeking to obtain special rights or privileges within the territory of China."

A specific application of the foregoing principles is seen in the present situation with respect to Formosa. In the joint declaration at Cairo on December 1, 1943, the President of the United States, the British Prime Minister and the President of China stated that it was their purpose that territories Japan had stolen from China, such as Formosa, should be restored to the Republic of China. The United States was a signatory to the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, which

declared that the terms of the Cairo Declaration should be carried out. The provisions of the Declaration were accepted by Japan at the time of its surrender. In keeping with these declarations, Formosa was surrendered to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and for the past four years the United States and the other Allied Powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island.

The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any other Chinese territory. The United States has no desire to obtain special rights or privileges or to establish military bases on Formosa at this time. Nor does it have any intention of utilizing its armed forces to interfere in the present situation. The U.S. Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China.

Similarly, the U.S. Government will not provide military aid or advice to Chinese forces on Formosa. In the view of the U.S. Government, the resources on Formosa are adequate to enable them to obtain the items which they might consider necessary for the defence of the island. The U.S. Government proposes to continue, under existing legislative authority, the present Economic Co-operation Administration programme of economic assistance.

STATEMENT BY HARRY S. TRUMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, ON ARMED INVASION OF KOREA AND TAIWAN

June 27, 1950

In Korea the Government forces, which were armed to prevent border raids and to preserve internal security, were attacked by invading forces from North Korea. The Security Council of the United Nations called upon the invading troops to cease hostilities and to withdraw to the 38th Parallel. This they have not done but, on the contrary, have pressed the attack. The Security Council called upon all members of the

United Nations to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution. In these circumstances, I have ordered United States air and sea forces to give the Korean Government troops cover and support.

The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war. It has defied the orders of the Security Council of the United Nations issued to preserve international peace and security. In these circumstances, the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area.

Accordingly, I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa. As a corollary of this action, I am calling upon the Chinese Government on Formosa to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. The Seventh Fleet will see that this is done. The determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations.

I have also directed that United States forces in the Philippines be strengthened and that military assistance to the Philippine Government be accelerated.

I have similarly directed acceleration in the furnishing of military assistance to the forces of France and the Associated States in Indo-China and the dispatch of a military mission to provide close working relations with those forces.

I know that all members of the United Nations will consider carefully the consequences of this latest aggression in Korea in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations. A return to the rule of force in international affairs would have far-reaching effects. The United States will continue to uphold the rule of law.

I have instructed Ambassador Austin, as the representative of the United States to the Security Council, to report these steps to the Council.

**FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI'S TELEGRAM
TO TRYGVE LIE, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE
UNITED NATIONS, CONDEMNING THE ILLEGAL
RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE U.N. SECURITY
COUNCIL ON JUNE 27, 1950**

July 6, 1950

Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Lake Success, New York.

For transmission to the members of the Security Council:

In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I declare: The resolution adopted by the Security Council on June 27 on the instigation and as a result of manipulation by the United States Government, calling upon the members of the United Nations to assist the South Korean authorities, supports armed aggression by the United States and constitutes an intervention in the internal affairs of Korea and a violation of world peace. This resolution, moreover, being adopted in the absence of the two permanent members of the Security Council, the People's Republic of China and the U.S.S.R., is obviously illegal. The United Nations Charter stipulates that the United Nations shall not be authorized to intervene in matters which are essentially within

the domestic jurisdiction of any state, yet the Security Council resolution of June 27 directly violates this important principle of the United Nations Charter. Therefore the resolution of the Security Council with regard to the Korean question is not only destitute of legal validity, but greatly damages the United Nations Charter. The action taken by Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, on the Korean question aggravates this damage.

Meanwhile, the statement by President Truman of the United States on June 27, aimed at preventing by armed force the liberation of Taiwan by the People's Republic of China, together with the action of the United States navy in invading the Chinese territorial waters around Taiwan, constitutes an act of open aggression which thoroughly violates the principle of the United Nations Charter forbidding any member to use force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other state. Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. This is not only a historical fact recognized by the entire world, but is also confirmed by the Cairo Declaration, the Potsdam Declaration and the situation since the surrender of Japan. In their silence in the face of this act of open aggression by the United States Government, the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations have relinquished their functions and duties of upholding world peace, and thereby become pliant instruments of the policy of the United States Government. In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic

of China, I now declare: Despite any military steps of obstruction taken by the United States Government, the Chinese people are irrevocably determined to liberate Taiwan.

Chou En-lai

**Minister for Foreign Affairs of the
People's Republic of China**

**FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI'S TELEGRAM
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED NATIONS
SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY-
GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, DEMAND-
ING ACTION AGAINST THE ARMED INVASION
OF TAIWAN BY THE UNITED STATES**

August 24, 1950

Mr. Yakov Malik, President of the United Nations Security Council, and Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Lake Success, New York:

On June 27 this year, President Truman of the United States of America announced the decision of the United States Government to prevent by the use of armed forces the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese People's Liberation Army. In the meantime, the United States Seventh Fleet moved towards the Taiwan Straits, followed by the arrival in Taiwan of contingents of the United States Air Force, in an open encroachment on the territory of the People's Republic of China. This action on the part of the United States Government is direct armed aggression on the territory of China, and a total violation of the United Nations Charter.

Taiwan is an integral part of China. This is not only a fact based on history and confirmed by the situation since the surrender of Japan, but it is also stipulated in the Cairo Declaration of 1943 and the

Potsdam Declaration of 1945, both binding international agreements which the United States Government has pledged itself to respect and observe.

The people of China cannot tolerate this act of armed aggression by the United States Government on the territory of China and are determined to liberate Taiwan and all other territories belonging to China from the clutches of the United States aggressors. On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I now lodge this charge with the United Nations Security Council and propose that, to maintain international peace and security and uphold the dignity of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations Security Council is obliged as its bounden duty to condemn the United States Government for its criminal act of armed invasion of the territory of China, and to take immediate measures to bring about the complete withdrawal of all the invading armed forces of the United States from Taiwan and other territories belonging to China.

Chou En-lai

Minister for Foreign Affairs of the
People's Republic of China

**FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI'S TELEGRAM
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.N. GENERAL AS-
SEMBLY AND THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF
THE U.N., DEMANDING RIGHT OF REPRESENTA-
TION AT THE DISCUSSION OF TWO COMPLAINTS
REGARDING U.S. AGGRESSION AGAINST CHINA
AND OPPOSING INCLUSION OF THE "QUESTION
OF FORMOSA" IN THE AGENDA OF THE GEN-
ERAL ASSEMBLY**

October 17, 1950

To Mr. Nasrollah Entezam, President of the Fifth United Nations General Assembly, and Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations:

On September 26, 1950, the Fifth United Nations General Assembly placed on its agenda the Complaint of United States Aggression Against China submitted by the U.S.S.R. representative. And on October 7, 1950, the Fifth United Nations General Assembly placed on its agenda a complaint against a United States invasion of China's territorial air, the strafing and bombing of Chinese territory and the shelling of a Chinese ship.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, being the sole legal government representing the Chinese people, has the right and necessity to send its delegation to attend and participate in the Fifth United Nations General Assembly.

In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby firmly demand from the Fifth United Nations General Assembly that when the General Assembly and its related committees proceed with the above-mentioned two items, the representative of the People's Republic of China must be present to state the case and participate in the discussion. This is the inalienable right of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and is a just demand in complete accordance with the spirit of the United Nations Charter, which cannot be denied. If the Fifth United Nations General Assembly should proceed with the above-mentioned items without the attendance and participation in the discussion of the representative of the People's Republic of China, all the resolutions adopted by it will be illegal, and consequently null and void.

On October 7, 1950, the Fifth United Nations General Assembly placed on its agenda, without any justification, the so-called Question of Formosa submitted by the United States. In submitting this item, the United States obviously attempted to misuse the name of the United Nations for interference in the internal affairs of China and violation of Chinese territory and sovereignty.

Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. This is not only a fact based on history, confirmed by the situation since the surrender of Japan, but is also corroborated by the Cairo Declaration of 1943 and the Potsdam Declaration of 1945. In connection with Taiwan, there exists today only the fact of

U.S. aggression on Taiwan, which is Chinese territory; the so-called Question of Formosa as regards the status or future of Taiwan does not exist.

That the United Nations General Assembly, manipulated by the United States, should have placed on its agenda the so-called Question of Formosa is an unjustified decision in violation of the United Nations Charter and international law.

In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the 475 million people of China, I hereby raise a strong protest before the United Nations General Assembly, and firmly oppose the inclusion in the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly, or of any other meetings, of the so-called Question of Formosa submitted by the United States in violation of the sovereignty and independence of China. I also firmly demand that the United Nations General Assembly cancel this illegal decision.

Chou En-lai

Minister for Foreign Affairs of the
People's Republic of China

**SPEECH AT THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY
COUNCIL BY WU HSIU-CHUAN, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF
CHINA TO THE U.N., CONDEMNING U.S. ARMED
AGGRESSION AGAINST TAIWAN**

November 28, 1950

Mr. President, Members of the Security Council:

On the instructions of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I am here, on behalf of the 475 million people of China, to accuse the United States Government of the unlawful and criminal act of armed aggression against Chinese territory of Taiwan—including the Penghu Islands. I wish to invite the attention of the members of the Security Council to this fact. This is my concrete mission here. I have brought with me the original text of the telegraphic reply of November 11 sent by the Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government of China, Chou En-lai, to Secretary-General Lie. At the end of that cable it is stated:

In view of the gravity of the two questions of armed intervention in Korea and aggression against Chinese Taiwan by the United States Government, and in view of the fact that the two questions are closely related, it would be most proper that the Security Council combine the discussion of the accusation raised by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against armed aggression on Taiwan by the United States

Government with the discussion of the question of armed intervention in Korea by the United States Government, so that the representative of the People's Republic of China, when attending the meetings of the Security Council to discuss the complaint against armed aggression on Taiwan, may raise, at the same time, the accusation against armed intervention in Korea by the United States Government.

But Item B on the agenda of the Security Council does not conform with the cable of Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of the Central People's Government. There is not the slightest resemblance between these two, and for this reason the representative of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China will of course not participate in the discussion of Item B on the agenda, the so-called complaint of aggression against the Republic of Korea. Now I shall continue with the substance of my speech.

The charge of aggression against Taiwan brought against the United States Government by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China should have been lodged by the delegate of the People's Republic of China to the Security Council as a permanent member of the Security Council. But owing to manipulation and obstruction by the United States Government, the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China have been and still are excluded from the United Nations. Therefore, I must first of all protest to the United Nations for allowing the so-called delegate of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique to sit unashamedly here in our midst even at this date, professing to be representing the Chinese people. Members of the

Security Council! This is a state of affairs that the Chinese people simply cannot tolerate.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, on the occasion of the establishment of the government on October 1, 1949, solemnly declared to the whole world that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing all the people of China.

The tremendous achievements of the People's Republic of China during the past year in military, economic, political and cultural construction have eloquently proved to the world that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the Chinese people.

The Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique, which opposes the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, has long ceased to exist on the mainland of China. In the more than four years of war since the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique launched a full-scale civil war in July 1946 with the support of the United States Government, the Chinese People's Liberation Army has put out of action 8,070,000 men of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary armies and liberated all the territories of China except Tibet and Taiwan.

During the past year, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has united all our people in various walks of life, has established local governments at every level throughout the coun-

try and has effectively controlled the mainland of China.

The Central People's Government, as the government of all China, is unprecedented in Chinese history in that it is unified, stable and supported by the people. Even the enemies of the Chinese people cannot but admit this fact.

Furthermore, the Kuomintang reactionary government has long since collapsed and ceased to exist. Even its remnant elements have also been driven out of the mainland of China by the Chinese people. It is only due to the armed protection of the United States that they still maintain their precarious existence on Taiwan. But they have long been renounced by the Chinese people and have no longer any grounds, *de jure* or *de facto*, to pretend to represent the Chinese people.

The so-called delegates sent to the United Nations by the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are nothing but the personal tools of a handful of fugitives who will soon be entirely eliminated. They have no qualifications whatsoever to represent the Chinese people.

Since November 15, 1949, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China has demanded repeatedly that the United Nations expel the so-called delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique from all the organs and meetings of the United Nations and admit the delegates of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. But until now, in spite of the vigorous support of the U.S.S.R. and other countries for the

seating of the delegates of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the affirmative votes of 16 member states of the United Nations (the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, India, Burma, Israel, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Byelo-Russia, the Ukraine, Denmark, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Yugoslavia and Norway), and owing to the manipulation and obstruction of the United States Government, the United Nations still refuses to admit our lawful delegates. As a result, the so-called delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are still sitting in the Security Council and in other organs of the United Nations. Against this, we cannot but lodge a grave protest.

Members of the Security Council! I would like to remind you that so long as the United Nations persists in denying admittance to a permanent member of the Security Council who represents 475 million people, it cannot make lawful decisions on any major issues or solve any major problems, particularly those which concern Asia. Indeed, without the participation of the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China, representing 475 million people, the United Nations cannot in practice be worthy of its name. Without the participation of the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people have no reason to recognize any resolutions or decisions of the United Nations.

In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I once more demand that the United Nations expel the so-called delegates of the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique and

admit the lawful delegates of the People's Republic of China.

* * *

Members of the Security Council will recall that Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, on August 24, lodged with the United Nations Security Council a charge that the United States Government had committed armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan. But the United States Government used every means to obstruct discussion of this just accusation by the Security Council. It was only owing to the just efforts of the Soviet delegate who was President of the Security Council during August and to the support of the delegates of other countries that the charge of armed aggression in Taiwan brought by the People's Republic of China against the United States has now been placed on the agenda of the Security Council, although because of the opposition of the United States it was given its present imperfect form as the "complaint of armed aggression against Taiwan (Formosa)."

After instigating the Syngman Rhee puppet government of South Korea to start civil war in Korea, President Truman of the United States made a statement on June 27 this year in which he declared that the United States Government had decided to prevent by force the liberation of Taiwan by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China. At the same time, United States armed forces, on the orders of President Truman, began a full-scale, open

invasion of Taiwan to carry out the United States Government's policy of preventing by force the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, in a statement issued on June 28, 1950, pointed out that the June 27 statement by President Truman of the United States together with the actions of the United States armed forces constituted armed aggression against Chinese territory and a gross violation of the United Nations Charter. The Chinese people cannot tolerate such barbaric, illegal and criminal acts of aggression by the United States Government.

Members of the Security Council! The case for the charge filed by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China against the United States Government is irrefutable.

Even moderately well-informed people know that Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. Long before Christopher Columbus discovered America, the Chinese people were already in Taiwan. Long before the United States achieved its independence, Taiwan had already become an inseparable part of the territory of China. Precisely because of this irrevocable historical fact that Taiwan is China's territory, the civilized nations of the world have never considered as justifiable the occupation of Taiwan by imperialist Japan during the 50-year period from 1895 to 1945. Moreover, the people of Taiwan have always opposed the rule of Japanese imperialism. During the 50 years under Japanese imperialist rule, the

people in Taiwan lived like beasts of burden and underwent all the bitterness of subjugation. But during these 50 years, the people in Taiwan never ceased to carry on a dauntless struggle against the alien rule of Japanese imperialism, and for a return to the motherland. In their heroic struggle against Japanese imperialism, the people in Taiwan wrote with blood and fire into the pages of history the fact that they are a member of the great family of the Chinese nation. Even the White Paper, *United States' Relations with China*, compiled by the United States Department of State, had to admit:

The native population for 50 years had been under the rule of a foreign invader and therefore welcomed the Chinese forces as liberators. During the Japanese occupation the principal hope of the people had been reunion with the mainland. (*United States' Relations with China*, p. 308)

Precisely because Taiwan is an inseparable part of China, the Cairo Declaration, jointly signed on December 1, 1943, by the governments of China, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, explicitly stipulates that "it is their (the three great Powers'—*Ed.*) purpose . . . that all territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China."

Taiwan is an integral part of China. Not only is this an incontrovertible historical fact, but its recovery was one of the main aims for which the Chinese people united in the fight against imperialist Japan. This aim was reflected in the above-mentioned

Cairo Declaration. The Cairo Declaration, moreover, is a solemn international commitment which the United States Government has pledged itself to observe. As one of the principal provisions applying to the unconditional surrender of Japan, this solemn international commitment was again laid down in the Potsdam Declaration which was jointly signed on July 26, 1945, by China, the United States and Great Britain, and which was subsequently adhered to by the Soviet Union. Article 8 of the Potsdam Declaration states:

The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.

On September 2, 1945, Japan signed the Instrument of Surrender, the first article of which explicitly provided that Japan accept the "provisions set forth in the declaration issued by the heads of the Governments of the United States, China and Great Britain on 26 July 1945, at Potsdam, and subsequently adhered to by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics." When the Chinese Government accepted the surrender of the Japanese armed forces in Taiwan and established sovereignty over the island, Taiwan became, not only *de jure*, but also *de facto*, an inalienable part of Chinese territory. And this has been the situation as regards Taiwan since 1945. Hence, during the five post-war years from 1945 to June 27, 1950, no one ever questioned the fact that Taiwan, *de jure* and *de facto*, is an inseparable part of Chinese territory.

This state of affairs was so clear that even President Truman of the United States had to admit on January 5, 1950:

... In the joint declaration at Cairo on December 1, 1943, the President of the United States, the British Prime Minister and the President of China stated that it was their purpose that territories Japan had stolen from China, such as Formosa, should be restored to the Republic of China. The United States was a signatory to the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, which declared that the terms of the Cairo Declaration should be carried out. The provisions of the Declaration were accepted by Japan at the time of its surrender. . . and for the past four years the United States and the other Allied Powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island.

The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any other Chinese territory. . . . Nor does it have any intention of utilizing its armed forces to interfere in the present situation. The U.S. Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China.

That is to say, even President Truman admitted that Taiwan is Chinese territory.

Thus it can be seen that there is no room for the slightest doubt that Taiwan is an inseparable part of Chinese territory. Nevertheless, the United States Government has had the audacity to declare its decision to use armed force to prevent the liberation of Taiwan by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, and to dispatch its armed forces in a large-scale, open invasion of Taiwan.

Members of the Security Council! The fact that the United States has used armed forces to invade Taiwan requires no investigation, because the United States Government itself has openly admitted this fact. In announcing the afore-mentioned decision, President Truman ordered the United States Seventh Fleet to invade our territorial waters around Taiwan. Since then, the United States Government has never denied the fact that the United States Seventh Fleet invaded Chinese territory of Taiwan. The United States armed forces have not only invaded Chinese territory of Taiwan, but have also violated China's territorial waters and territorial air along our coastline, where they have been conducting active reconnaissance and patrols. According to a dispatch filed by the *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent at Taipeh on July 24, "The Fleet has a beat extending from Swatow in South China to Tsingtao in North China, a 1,000-mile coastline. . . ." At the same time, the United States Government has never denied the invasion of Taiwan by the United States 13th Air Force. These United States naval and air units which invaded Taiwan, jointly with the United States aggression forces in Korea, have extended and are still extending their acts of aggression beyond Taiwan to the territorial waters and territorial air of China's mainland. I shall deal further with these facts later.

Having declared and put into operation the policy of armed aggression against Taiwan, President Truman sent General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Armed Forces in the Far East, to Taiwan to confer clandestinely with Chiang Kai-shek

on concrete measures for using Taiwan as a base to wage war against the Chinese people. MacArthur and Chiang Kai-shek decided that the land, naval and air forces of the United States and those of Chiang Kai-shek should be placed under the unified command of MacArthur for the "joint defence" of Taiwan. On his departure from Taiwan for Japan on August 1, MacArthur openly declared: "Arrangements have been completed for effective co-ordination between the American forces under my command and those of the Chinese Government" (the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique). And this is what Chiang Kai-shek said: "Agreement has been reached between General MacArthur and myself on all the problems discussed in the series of conferences held in the past two days. The foundation for a joint defence of Taiwan and for Sino-American military co-operation has thus been laid." In league with its puppet, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary clique, the United States Government, which has invaded and occupied Taiwan, thus casts the gauntlet of war before the Chinese people.

Long before June 27, this year, the United States Government, through its puppet, had already carried out all kinds of aggressive activities against Taiwan, including acts of armed aggression. Now, as a matter of fact, the United States Government is more reckless than ever. The United States 13th Air Force has already established an "Advanced Command Headquarters in Formosa" (according to a Taipeh broadcast on August 10), which is operating at the air force headquarters of the Kuomintang bogus regime (according to a broadcast from Taipeh on

August 7). The United States Seventh Fleet has set up a "naval liaison staff" in Taiwan (according to a Taipeh United Press dispatch datelined July 24). In order to facilitate unified command of its naval and air aggression forces in Taiwan, the United States Government has sent an official military mission there, called "the United States Far East Command Survey Group in Formosa." This "survey group" was reportedly recalled to Japan on October 3 and to all appearances seemed to have been disbanded. But everyone knows that this is nothing but an attempt at deception on the part of the United States Government. The United States armed forces, their commanding officers and military command posts are still there in Taiwan!

Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. The invasion and occupation of Taiwan by the armed forces of the United States Government constitutes an act of open, direct armed aggression against China by the United States Government.

There is not the slightest justification for the United States Government's invasion and occupation of Taiwan. Yet the United States Government had somehow to find a "justification" for the aggression. Hence came the story that "the status of Taiwan is not yet determined," and that, therefore, the armed occupation of Taiwan by the United States cannot be regarded as invasion and occupation of Chinese territory by the United States. Is not this the claim of "justification"? Did not President Truman declare at the time of issuing the order for armed aggression against Taiwan that "The determination of the future

status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations”?

Let us first deal with the question of the status of Taiwan and the peace treaty with Japan. Does it make sense to say that, since the status of Taiwan is not yet determined, the invasion of Taiwan by United States armed force does not constitute aggression against China? No, it does not. Here we have, in the first place, the Truman of January 5, 1950, contradicting the Truman of June 27, 1950. On January 5, this year, Truman stated: “the United States and the other Allied Powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island.” Surely, at that time, Mr. Truman did not consider that the peace treaty with Japan had already been signed! Then, we can cite President Roosevelt against Truman. On December 1, 1943, President Roosevelt solemnly declared in the Cairo Declaration that “all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.” Surely, neither President Roosevelt nor anyone else at that time considered that, in the absence of a peace treaty with Japan, the Cairo Declaration would be invalid, and that Manchuria, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands would remain in the possession of Japan! The facts of history over the past several centuries and the situation during the five years since the surrender of Japan also contradict Truman, because both have long determined the status of Taiwan as an integral part of China.

The status of Taiwan was determined long ago; there is no such question as that of Taiwan's status.

Article 107 of the United Nations Charter clearly provides; "Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the governments having responsibility for such action." Therefore the United Nations has absolutely no right to alter the status of Taiwan, the less so since the question of the status of Taiwan does not exist.

President Truman of the United States declared that the so-called question of the status of Taiwan must await consideration by the United Nations. After the People's Republic of China had charged the United States with armed aggression against Taiwan before the United Nations, the United States Government indicated that it would welcome consideration and investigation by the United Nations in regard to the question of Taiwan. The United States representative at the Fifth United Nations General Assembly introduced the so-called Question of Formosa and made use of the U.S. voting machine in the General Assembly to put this matter on the agenda. All these moves of the United States Government aim at usurping the name of the United Nations to legalize its illegal acts of armed aggression against Taiwan and to consolidate its actual occupation of Taiwan.

My government has protested in strong terms to the United Nations General Assembly, resolutely

opposing the inclusion of the so-called Question of Formosa concerning the status of Taiwan on the agenda of the General Assembly. Whatever decision the United Nations General Assembly may take on the so-called question of the status of Taiwan—whether it be turning over the island to the United States to administer openly under the disguise of “trusteeship” or “neutralization,” or whether it be procrastinating by way of “investigation,” thereby maintaining the present state of actual occupation by the United States—it will in substance mean stealing China’s legitimate territory and supporting United States aggression against Taiwan in opposition to the Chinese people. Any such decision will be unjustifiable and unlawful. Any such decision will in no way shake the resolve of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, nor will it prevent action by the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan.

I wish to remind all those countries which are prepared to follow the United States on this question: Do not be taken in by the United States; do not pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the United States—because if you support United States aggression, you must bear the consequences of your actions. The status of Taiwan was determined long ago. The question of the status of Taiwan simply does not exist.

However, one question does exist regarding Taiwan, that is the question of armed aggression by the United States Government against the territory of China, Taiwan. Therefore, to argue that because the peace treaty with Japan is yet to be concluded the

status of Taiwan remains undetermined and must await consideration by the United Nations—to argue thus is to make a mockery of history, of realities, of human intelligence, of international agreements. To argue thus is to make a mockery of the United Nations Charter. This is a preposterous farce, unworthy of refutation, in which Truman makes a mockery of Truman himself.

Next, I would like to say a few words about the absurd argument that United States aggression against Taiwan has as its aim the safeguarding of security in the Pacific. The United States Government has persistently circulated a fabrication to the effect that United States aggression against Taiwan is a “temporary measure” arising from the Korean war and is intended to “localize” the Korean war and safeguard security in the Pacific. Therefore, according to the United States Government, “the determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific.”

The civil war in Korea was created by the United States. But in no sense whatsoever can the civil war in Korea be used as a justification or pretext for United States aggression against Taiwan. Members of the Security Council! Can we conceive of a situation in which, because of a civil war in Spain, Italy would become entitled to occupy the French territory of Corsica? Can we conceive of a civil war in Mexico conferring upon Great Britain the right to occupy the State of Florida in the United States? Such things are utterly absurd and inconceivable. In fact, the United States Government’s policy of armed aggres-

sion against Taiwan, no less than its policy of armed aggression against Korea, was decided upon long before the United States created the civil war in Korea. Six days before the outbreak of the Korean civil war, that is, on June 19, 1950, the *New York Times* wrote in an editorial:

It would seem, then, that the retention of some sort of bases for defending Japan was imperative. On the other hand, the old idea of three or four relatively isolated bases is, of course, nonsense. . . .

It may well be for reasons such as these that General MacArthur is, according to recent reports, ready to urge a co-ordinated defence pattern for the whole of the Western Pacific and not merely for Japan alone. This revives the question of what should or can be done about Formosa. There is a substantial body of opinion to the effect that the island can be held and that, although it is late, it is not too late. . . .

A vigorous defence programme, on a regional basis, would therefore involve political decisions of the first order. It could require a reversal of our position on Formosa.

An item in the *New York Post* on June 27, went further to say:

Before Johnson and Bradley went to Japan, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff had agreed upon a Far Eastern Policy including the following two points: 1. No peace treaty with Japan for the next five years, 2. Adoption of all measures to prevent Formosa from falling into Communist hands.

A dispatch from Tokyo in the *New York Herald Tribune* of June 25 vividly revealed the specific details of this decision:

A firm stand by the United States on Formosa would, according to Supreme Headquarters, have a 90 per cent chance of deterring Communist invasion because the Chinese themselves are not ready for a head-on tilt with American power. . . .

Headquarters officials believe that the Communists could be deterred from even starting an attack on Formosa if swift action were taken along about the following lines:

A strong public pronouncement should be made by the United States that in the light of Soviet participation in Chinese military preparations and in the light of changed world conditions, the final disposition of Formosa—which was a former Japanese possession—must await a Japanese peace treaty. Until a treaty has been concluded, Formosa would be under American or United Nations jurisdiction. This pronouncement should be coupled with the dispatch of a large-scale military mission to Formosa with a limited supply of equipment. The amount of aid would be comparable to that given the Greek Government in its fight against the guerillas. There have also been suggestions that the military mission should be supplemented by a show of naval strength. One officer contended that the presence of a single aircraft carrier would certainly deter the Communists from attacking for a long time to come.

No further evidence on this point would appear necessary. Such important accounts of the aggressive designs of the United States Government have never been refuted by the United States Government and therefore must be accepted as reliable. What we have quoted above is already sufficient to show that the United States Government had decided upon its policy of armed aggression against Taiwan long before it created the war in Korea. Even the concrete steps to be taken in executing this policy, such

as the issuance of a strong pronouncement, a show of naval strength, the dispatch of military missions, etc., had been decided upon. The creation of civil war in Korea by the United States Government was designed solely to furnish a pretext for launching armed aggression against Korea and against our territory, Taiwan, and for tightening its control in Viet-Nam and in the Philippines.

Clearly, in carrying out aggression simultaneously against Korea and Taiwan under the pretext of a Korean civil war of its own making, the United States Government has vastly extended the scale of the Korean war. The series of provocations by the United States armed forces following the aggression against Korea and Taiwan has proved this fully. The United States Government is carrying the flames of aggressive war to China according to plan.

Far from localizing the Korean war, this is, on the contrary, extending it. The Chinese people have consistently supported all proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and for genuinely localizing the Korean war. The Chinese people also hope fervently for security in the Pacific area. But the Korean war has been extended and security in the Pacific has been shattered.

Who has been extending the Korean war? Who has shattered security in the Pacific? Have Chinese armed forces invaded Hawaii of the United States or have United States armed forces invaded Taiwan of China? As everyone knows, there are no Chinese forces between Hawaii and the United States mainland. It is precisely because the United States con-

currently committed aggression against Taiwan that the Korean war has been vastly extended. It is precisely because the United States armed forces traversed 5,000 miles of ocean to commit aggression against Korea and Taiwan that security in the Pacific has been shattered. It is the United States armed aggression launched under the pretext of "maintaining security in the Pacific" that has shattered the security of the Pacific. All the deceptions and lies that have been repeated too many times by Messrs. Truman, Acheson, Austin and the like, to the effect that United States aggression against Taiwan is a "temporary measure" arising from the Korean war, aimed at "localizing" the Korean war, and "maintaining security in the Pacific," etc.—all such deceptions and lies are outweighed by a few voluntary confessions of General MacArthur.

In his message to the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States on August 28, General MacArthur flagrantly admitted that the United States regarded Taiwan as "the centre" of the United States Pacific front, "an unsinkable aircraft carrier," and that the United States must control Taiwan in order to be able to "dominate with air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore."

From this it can readily be seen that the United States armed aggression against Taiwan is definitely not any sort of "temporary measure" arising out of the Korean war, but rather a premeditated plan that had been decided upon long before the civil war in Korea was created. This United States armed aggression was directed towards vastly extending the Korean

war and not towards "localizing" it, towards seeking to "dominate every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore" and not towards any such aim as "maintaining security in the Pacific." This United States armed aggression has outrageously shattered security in the Pacific.

Further, the United States Government perversely argues that United States armed invasion and occupation of Taiwan was designed to effect the "military neutralization" of Taiwan. The United States Government attempted to use this hypocritical slogan as its "justification" for armed aggression against Taiwan in order to deceive the people all over the world, particularly the American people. But the people in the United States and throughout the whole world clearly understand that the liberation of Taiwan, which the Chinese people are determined to carry out, is entirely China's domestic affair, and that no deceptive slogans can conceal the fact that this action on the part of the United States Government constitutes armed intervention in China's domestic affairs.

Let the American people pause to consider: Should another country dispatch its navy somewhere between Hawaii and the United States mainland, divide up American territory and prevent the United States Government from exercising sovereignty there, while at the same time alleging that such action has been taken for the military neutralization of Hawaii so as to safeguard security in the Pacific—should another country do all these things, would the American people tolerate it?

Let the American people further pause to consider: At the time when President Lincoln was mopping up the remnant forces of the Southern slave owners, if a foreign power had suddenly stepped in and occupied the State of Virginia by armed force, while alleging that this was designed for the military neutralization of Virginia so as to safeguard the security of the American continent—if a foreign power did all this, would not the American people consider that it was flagrantly intervening in the domestic affairs of the United States? Would not the American people consider this as armed occupation of the territory of the United States?

The armed invasion and occupation of Taiwan by the United States Government is an act of aggression in that it is flagrant intervention in China's domestic affairs and armed occupation of Chinese territory. It is an open and wanton act of provocation against all the 475 million Chinese people. The Chinese people cannot tolerate this unlawful and criminal act of direct, armed, aggressive war against China by the United States Government. Neither will the American people, in our belief, approve of such criminal provocation. This is because such action on the part of the United States Government is also detrimental to the interests of the American people. Can there be a single one of the peace-loving American people who is willing to serve as cannon-fodder and to die just because his government has decided to invade Taiwan which is 5,000 miles away from America?

The outrageous act of the United States Government in committing unjustified armed aggression

against Taiwan has roused the indignation of all decent people in the world. No lies or deceits concerning the "future status" of Taiwan can dispel this indignation. As a result, the United States Government has been compelled to resort to even bigger lies in order to cover up its outrageous aggression. On July 19, the President of the United States said in his message to Congress:

In order that there may be no doubt in any quarter about our intentions regarding Formosa, I wish to state that the United States has no territorial ambitions whatever concerning that Island, nor do we seek for ourselves any special position or privilege on Formosa.

Members of the Security Council! We Chinese are a people accustomed to "listening to words and observing deeds." The United States armed forces have invaded the territory of China, Taiwan. Yet the President of the United States asserts that the United States Government harbours no territorial ambitions concerning Taiwan. Shall we believe the "words" of the United States Government? Or its "deeds"?

Here we have a situation where, having invaded another country's territory, the aggressor states he has no territorial ambitions on that territory. What, then, is meant by "territorial ambitions"? Let him not make a mockery of the common sense of humanity. The supreme manifestation of territorial ambitions towards any particular state surely is the invasion of its territory. This action of the United States armed forces in invading Taiwan eloquently proves that the United States not only harbours territorial ambitions towards China's territory, Taiwan, but is already

realizing them. The real intention of the United States is, as MacArthur has confessed, to convert Taiwan into the centre of the United States Pacific front, for the purpose of dominating every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore.

In his letter of August 25 to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Austin, the United States delegate to the United Nations, stated: "The United States has not encroached on the territory of China, nor has the United States taken aggressive acts against China." Very well. Where, then, have the United States Seventh Fleet and the 13th Air Force gone? Can it be that they have gone to the planet Mars? No. The United States Seventh Fleet and the 13th Air Force have not gone elsewhere. They are in Taiwan. Can it be that what is referred to as the Seventh Fleet and the 13th Air Force are simply not armed forces of the United States? No. The Seventh Fleet and the 13th Air Force are without doubt the Seventh Fleet of the United States and the 13th Air Force of the United States. Then where is the point at issue?

Can there be any aggressive act on earth more outrageous than that of invasion and occupation of another country's territory? It was only such fascist regimes as the German and the Japanese which did not admit that the invasion and occupation of China's Manchuria or the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia were acts of aggression. Members of the Security Council! We cannot tolerate this kind of trickery by the United States Government. We all live in a real world. And we are living after the

victory of the anti-fascist war. No amount of sophistry, lies and fabrication can alter the iron-clad fact that the United States armed forces have committed aggression on the territory of China, Taiwan.

Members of the Security Council! The armed aggression of the United States Government on our territory, Taiwan, is not accidental. It is the inevitable consequence of the United States Government's policy of aggression against China, of interfering in China's internal affairs, and seeking exclusive domination over China—a United States imperialist policy of long standing.

In the entire history of China's foreign relations, notwithstanding the fact that the peoples of the United States and China have always maintained friendly relations, the American imperialists have always, in their relations with China, been the cunning aggressors. The American imperialists have never been the friends of the Chinese people. They have always aligned themselves with the enemies of the Chinese people. They have always been the enemies of the Chinese people. However shamelessly the American imperialists may claim to be friends of the Chinese people, the historical record which distinguishes friend from foe cannot be altered.

Before the Second World War, because of the head-start gained by other imperialists in China, the American imperialists adopted what was known as the policy of the "Open Door" and "Equal Opportunity," which, though ostensibly different from the policies of the other imperialist powers, was in fact

an aggressive policy aimed at sharing the spoils with other imperialists.

After the Second World War, mainly because of the efforts and sacrifices of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union in the Second World War, the power of Japanese imperialism in China was smashed, and that of the other imperialists in China weakened. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the United States Government stepped up the execution of its policy of sole domination over China. But the difficulties in realizing this policy were formidable, because those who favoured this policy were only the Kuomintang reactionary clique, while the entire Chinese people opposed it. Therefore, in order to carry out their policy, it was necessary for the American imperialists to support the Kuomintang reactionary clique and to oppose the Chinese people with all their power.

After the surrender of imperialist Japan in 1945, the United States Government immediately adopted a policy of open intervention in China's internal affairs, using every means to smooth the way for the Kuomintang reactionary clique to launch a bloody civil war and to slaughter the Chinese people. The United States Government mobilized 113,000 men of its naval, ground and air forces to make landings in the major ports of China, to seize important strategic points from which the Kuomintang reactionary clique could launch the civil war, and to assist the Kuomintang reactionary clique by transporting one million of its troops to the fronts on which the civil war was to be launched.

Moreover, the United States Government equipped, at one time or another, 166 divisions of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek army as the main force for the invasion of the Chinese people's liberated areas; it helped Chiang to equip nine air force squadrons consisting of 1,720 planes, supplied the Chiang navy with 757 vessels, and gave material and financial aid to Chiang to the amount of over 6,000 million U.S. dollars—although the United States Government admits only one-third of this figure. It is only because of the large-scale aid it received from the United States Government that the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary clique dared and was able to carry out a civil war against the people, unprecedented in Chinese history in its scale and cruelty, and to slaughter several millions of the Chinese people with United States arms.

During Chiang Kai-shek's bloody civil war against the Chinese people, apart from the fact that the United States Government sent 1,000 military advisers to Chiang Kai-shek to plan the civil war, United States troops stationed in China actually participated in the civil war, directly invading the Chinese people's liberated areas more than 40 times. During this period, the United States Government and the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary clique signed all kinds of unequal treaties and agreements to reduce China to the status of a colony and military base of the United States. These included such military agreements as the "Aviation Agreement" and "Naval Agreement" and such economic treaties and agreements as the "Sino-American

Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation," the "Bilateral Agreement Between China and the United States," and the "Sino-American Agreement on Rural Reconstruction."

Furthermore, on the basis of these treaties and agreements, the United States Government secured many naval and air bases in Kuomintang China, and gained control of the military, political, financial and economic branches of the Kuomintang government. American goods flooded China's markets, causing her national industries to fall into bankruptcy. The monopoly capitalists of the United States, through the four big families of Chiang, Soong, Kung and Chen, controlled the vital arteries of China's economy. In fact, the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary regime was nothing more than a puppet through which American imperialism controlled China.

The Chinese people are completely justified in charging all the tyrannical crimes of Chiang Kai-shek to the account of the American imperialists. The Chinese people will never forget the blood debt owed by the American imperialists. American imperialism can never escape the grave responsibility which it must bear for all the crimes committed by the Chiang Kai-shek brigands against the Chinese people. The hands of the American imperialists are stained with the blood of the Chinese people. The Chinese people have every right to indict the United States Government for the bloody crimes of slaughtering their countrymen and enslaving the Chinese nation through its puppet Chiang Kai-shek.

However, all the efforts of the United States Government ended in failure. A relatively complete record of this failure can be found in the volume *United States' Relations with China*, known as the White Paper, compiled by the State Department of the United States. But the United States Government, still reluctant to admit that this was its final defeat, has for the time being concentrated its aggressive activities against China on Taiwan, the lair of the Chiang Kai-shek remnant clique in its last desperate struggle.

Shortly after the Japanese surrender, the United States armed forces had already started making various preparations for aggression against Taiwan, under the pretext of assisting the Kuomintang regime to "accept the surrender" and "repatriate war prisoners." What the United States did in Taiwan through the Kuomintang regime was the same as what it did in Japan; it first of all kept intact all Japanese fascist forces and military installations. During the second half of 1947, under the direction of the United States Government, Hasegawa Kiyoshi, former Japanese Governor of Taiwan, Yoshisuke Ayukawa, former President of the Japanese Manchuria Industrial Development Corporation, released by order of MacArthur from Sugamo Prison, and other notorious war criminals of Japan's aggressive war against China were sent to Taiwan under United States protection. They were sent there to participate in planning the construction of military bases in Taiwan and, under United States instructions, to help train Chiang Kai-shek's troops to slaughter

Chinese people. During this period, the United States successively established air bases, liaison radio stations and other installations in Taipeh, Sungshan, Taichung, Tainan and Hsinchu airfields. Military aircraft of the United States 13th Air Force in the Pacific were sent out to photograph the topography of the whole of Taiwan and to make meteorological surveys. Furthermore, United States military aircraft were constantly stationed on the various airfields in Taiwan. Hsinchu airfield, the largest air base in Taiwan during the Japanese occupation, became, after the Japanese surrender, the base of a United States force of aggression—the 13th Air Force.

Meanwhile, the United States gradually converted the ports of Keelung and Kaohsiung in Taiwan into its own naval bases. In the spring of 1948, Admiral Charles M. Cooke, Jr. arrived in Taiwan with the United States West Pacific Fleet under his command, and compelled the Kuomintang regime—which had intended to cover up the fact that it had sold China's seaports—to declare officially that Keelung as well as Tsingtao was a port open to the United States navy.

Since that time, vessels of the United States navy have continually violated the territorial waters of our country around Taiwan and have been stationed in the various ports of Taiwan. In the port of Kaohsiung alone, at one time there were stationed as many as 27 United States naval vessels. In regard to land forces, the United States "Joint Military Advisory Group" long ago sent a large staff of officers on active service to be stationed permanently on Tai-

wan. In accordance with the joint war plans of the United States and Chiang Kai-shek, this military staff is responsible for organizing, equipping and training the so-called new army of the Kuomintang, which is to be used to attack the Chinese people. Thus, the United States has in reality taken over the military role of Japan, put Taiwan under its control and converted it into a military base of the United States.

Economically, the United States Government jointly with American monopolies, such as the Westinghouse Electric Company, the Reynolds Metal Company, the American Express Company and others, has, through various devices, acquired domination over Taiwan's main industries—electric power, aluminum, cement, fertilizer, and others—established control over the economic life of Taiwan, and actually reduced it to a colony of the United States. Under such conditions, it is natural that the United States will not lightly give up Taiwan. Consequently, in order to carry out its aim of dominating Taiwan, the United States Government has long been engaged in a variety of vicious political conspiracies. The instigation of the "Taiwan Separatist Movement" by the United States reached such a height of brazenness that an American government official in Taiwan openly declared that, if the people in Taiwan wanted to relieve themselves of China's rule, the United States was ready to help them.

The Chinese people of Taiwan have seen with their own eyes all these conspiracies of the United States Government in league with the reactionary Kuomin-

tang remnants. Therefore, in the last five years, they have repeatedly launched great national liberation movements directed against the United States Government and its puppet. By their glorious uprising of February 28, 1947, the Chinese people of Taiwan declared to the whole world that just as they had not accepted the rule of Japanese imperialism, so they would never accept the rule of United States imperialism. The people of Taiwan demand fervently to return to the fold of their already liberated motherland and are at this moment waging hard and heroic struggles for the liberation of Taiwan.

In 1949, the Chinese People's Liberation Army completed the liberation of the mainland of China. The vestiges of Chiang Kai-shek's clique fled to Taiwan, in order to use it as a lair for their last desperate struggle. In spite of the hypocritical statement of President Truman on January 5, 1950, concerning "non-intervention in the Taiwan situation," the United States Government, in fact, intensified and stepped up its support for the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek clique herded together on Taiwan. The United States Government continues, through the Kuomintang remnant clique, to hinder the People's Republic of China from liberating Taiwan, so that Taiwan may remain under the actual domination of the United States.

But why does not the United States Government continue this course of action—this relatively covert form of aggression through the Chiang Kai-shek puppet regime? Why must it instead adopt the form of open and direct armed aggression to attain its ob-

jective of controlling Taiwan? There is only one reason. The growing might of the Chinese people and the imminent collapse of the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary remnant regime have made it impossible for the United States to attain its objective by any indirect form of aggression. Thus we can see that open armed aggression by the United States against China's territory, Taiwan, is the inevitable outcome of the development of its imperialist policy of aggression against China, which is of long standing. The act of armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan, by the United States Government serves only to prove once again to the Chinese people that United States imperialism regards all victories of the Chinese people with hostility; that United States imperialism is the most deadly enemy of the Chinese people.

Members of the Security Council! I must point out further that the armed aggression of the United States Government against Chinese territory of Taiwan, is not an isolated affair. It is an integral part of the over-all plan of the United States Government to intensify its aggression against, and control and enslavement of Asian countries and peoples — of Korea, Viet-Nam, the Philippines, Japan, etc. It is a further step in the development of interference in the affairs of Asia by American imperialism.

During the five years since the war, General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Armed Forces in the Far East, has undertaken a series of unlawful measures, abusing the power granted to him as Supreme Commander of the

Allied Powers in Japan, and completely violating the Potsdam Declaration, jointly signed by China, the United States, Great Britain and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as the "Basic Post-Surrender Policy for Japan" of the Far Eastern Commission. MacArthur is arbitrarily freeing the Japanese war criminals whom the people all over Asia hate bitterly. He is reviving the power of Japanese fascism, suppressing the movement of the Japanese people for independence and liberation, and refusing to bring about an early over-all peace treaty with Japan. He is trying to gain sole domination over Japan, to enslave the Japanese nation, and to reduce Japan to a United States colony and a base for a new aggressive war.

This policy of the United States Government towards Japan hurts not only the interests of the Japanese people, but also the common interests of the Chinese people, the Korean people and the other peoples of Asia. The Chinese people cannot but strongly protest against this reactionary policy of the United States Government and oppose it resolutely. Since the Chinese people won victory on the mainland of China, the United States Government has carried out ever more frantically its policy of rearming Japan in opposition to the Chinese and other Asian peoples.

At present, the United States Government has not only turned Japan into its main base for the preparation of aggressive war in the Far East. It has already begun to use this base as a means to launch aggressive wars against a series of Asian countries.

The headquarters of the United States Government in its aggression against Korea and Taiwan is Japan.

Under the pretext of the Korean civil war, a war of its own making, the United States Government launched armed aggression simultaneously against Korea and Taiwan. From its very outset, the United States armed aggression against Korea has been a grave threat to China's security. Members of the Security Council! Korea is about 5,000 miles away from the boundaries of the United States. To say that the civil war in Korea affects the security of the United States is flagrant, absurd deceit. But between Korea and China there is only a narrow river. The United States armed aggression in Korea inevitably threatens China's security. That the United States forces of aggression in Korea have directly threatened China's security is fully borne out by the facts.

From August 27 to November 10, 1950, the military aircraft of the United States forces of aggression in Korea have violated the territorial air of Northeast China 90 times, conducted reconnaissance activities over China, strafed and bombed Chinese cities, towns and villages, killed and wounded peaceful inhabitants of China, and damaged property in China. The details are set out in a separate list. Here I should point out in addition that from 10:30 hours on November 10 to 13:10 hours on November 14, within 100 hours, United States aeroplanes violated China's territorial air as many as 28 times. On nine of these occasions they engaged in bombing and strafing.

The total number of such invading planes was 339. In ten of these raids, more than ten planes took part. On one occasion the number of invading planes was 68. Six Chinese people were injured and over 168 houses were destroyed by bombing and strafing. During the five days from November 15 to November 19, United States aeroplanes again violated China's territorial air on 33 occasions. The total number of invading planes was 218. On September 20, naval craft of the United States forces of aggression against Korea opened fire on and forcibly inspected Chinese merchant shipping on the high seas.

All these acts of direct aggression against China by the United States forces of aggression in Korea are an insolent provocation which the Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly lodged accusations with the United Nations, demanding that it immediately take measures to stop such outrageous acts by the United States Government, and to secure the withdrawal of the United States forces of aggression from Korea, so that the issue might not assume more serious proportions. Owing to the firm support of the delegate of the U.S.S.R., our charge was placed on the agenda of the Security Council on August 31. But nevertheless, owing to manipulation and obstruction by the United States Government, the Security Council has up to now refused to admit the representative of China to state the case and participate in the discussion of this item. Now, the United

States forces of aggression in Korea are approaching our Northeast frontiers. The flames of the aggressive war waged by the United States against Korea are swiftly sweeping towards China.

In these circumstances, the United States armed aggression against Korea cannot be regarded as a matter which concerns the Korean people alone. No, decidedly not. Members of the Security Council! The United States aggression against Korea gravely endangers the security of the People's Republic of China. The Korean Democratic People's Republic is a country bound by close ties of friendship to the People's Republic of China. Geographically, only a river separates the two countries. The Chinese people cannot afford to stand by idly in the face of this serious situation brought about by the United States Government's aggression against Korea and the dangerous tendency towards the extension of this war. The Chinese people see with their own eyes how Taiwan has fallen prey to aggression, and how the flames of the United States war of aggression against Korea are leaping towards them. Stirred into righteous anger, they are volunteering in great numbers to go to the aid of the Korean people. Such resistance to United States aggression is based on self-evident principles of justice and reason. The Chinese People's Government sees no reason whatever to prevent the voluntary departure of these men and women for Korea to participate, under the command of the Government of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, in the great liberation struggle of the Korean people against United States aggression.

The armed aggression of the United States against Taiwan is inseparable from its interference in the internal affairs of the Viet-Nam Democratic Republic, its support of the French aggressors and their Bao Dai puppet regime in their armed attack on the Viet-Nam people. The people of the entire world know that France is the aggressor against Viet-Nam and that the Bao Dai regime is a typical puppet regime which cannot possibly win any confidence and support from the Viet-Nam people. In supporting this aggressor and this puppet regime against the people of Viet-Nam, the United States Government not only commits aggression against Viet-Nam but threatens the borders of the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people cannot but be deeply concerned with the unfolding of the aggressive plot of the United States Government against Viet-Nam.

Members of the Security Council! In making Japan its main war base in the East, launching armed aggression against Korea and Taiwan, carrying out active intervention against Viet-Nam and tightening its control over other countries in Asia, the United States Government is systematically building up a military encirclement of the People's Republic of China, in preparation for further attacks on the People's Republic of China, and for the stirring up of a third world war.

The truth of the matter is not difficult to understand: After the Second World War, the United States imperialist policy met with miserable failure on the Chinese mainland. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution shows oppressed peoples

and nations throughout Asia the way to drive imperialism out of Asia and achieve national independence. It shows them by living facts that it is possible to defeat American imperialism, and that without imperialist oppression the Asian peoples not only can survive, but will live a much better life. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution has inspired and encouraged the oppressed peoples throughout Asia in their struggle of liberation, their struggle for national independence. But American imperialism cannot resign itself to the shattering of its dream of exclusive domination of Asia. Nor can it reconcile itself to a withdrawal from Asia. Hence American imperialism regards victorious people's China as the most serious obstacle to its sole domination over Asia.

American imperialism is hostile to all liberation struggles by Asian peoples, and is particularly angered by the great victory of the Chinese people. It has therefore resorted to open and direct armed aggression to realize its fanatical design of attacking New China and dominating the whole of Asia. The American imperialists claim that the "defence line" of the United States must be pushed to the Yalu River, to the Taiwan Straits and to the mountainous border regions between China and Viet-Nam. Otherwise, they say, the United States would have no security.

Therefore the United States carries on armed aggression against Korea and Taiwan and has intensified its intervention in Viet-Nam. But in no sense whatever can it be said that the Korean people's struggle

for liberation, or the exercise of sovereignty by the People's Republic of China over its own territory, Taiwan, or the volunteering of the Chinese people to resist the United States and aid Korea, or the struggle for national independence of the Viet-Nam Democratic Republic against French imperialism and its puppet, affects the security of the United States in North America 5,000 miles away. The Chinese people, steeled by hardship and suffering, know full well that the United States Government has undertaken this series of aggressive acts with the purpose of realizing its fanatical design of dominating Asia and the world. One of the master planners of Japanese aggression, Tanaka, once said: "To conquer the world, one must first conquer Asia; to conquer Asia, one must first conquer China; to conquer China, one must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. To conquer Manchuria and Mongolia, one must first conquer Korea and Taiwan."

From 1895 onward, the path of aggression taken by imperialist Japan corresponded exactly to the Tanaka plan. In 1895, imperialist Japan invaded Korea and Taiwan. In 1931, imperialist Japan occupied the whole of Northeast China. In 1937, imperialist Japan launched the war of aggression against the whole of China. In 1941, it started its war aimed at the conquest of all Asia. But the fact is, as everyone knows, that before it realized this design, Japanese imperialism collapsed. American imperialism, by its aggression against Taiwan and Korea, is plagiarizing from the "Tanaka Memorial," and following the beaten path of the Japanese imperialist aggressors. The Chi-

nese people are maintaining sharp vigilance over the extension of American imperialist aggression. They have already acquired experience from history, and learned from it how to defend themselves against aggression.

Members of the Security Council! American imperialism has taken the place of Japanese imperialism. It is now following the old track of aggression against China and Asia on which Japanese imperialism set forth in 1894-1895, only it is hoping to proceed with greater speed. But, after all, 1950 is not 1895. Times have changed, and so have the circumstances. The Chinese people have arisen. The Chinese people who, on the mainland, have overthrown the rule of Japanese imperialism, American imperialism and its lackey Chiang Kai-shek, will certainly succeed in driving out the United States aggressors and recovering Taiwan and all other territories that belong to China.

In the 55 years since 1895, as a result of the great October Socialist Revolution of the Soviet Union, of victory in the anti-fascist Second World War, and of the great revolution of the Chinese people, all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East have awakened and organized themselves. Regardless of the savagery and cruelty of the American imperialist aggressors, the hard-struggling people of Japan, the victoriously advancing people of Viet-Nam, the heroically resisting people of Korea, the people of the Philippines who have never laid down their arms, and all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East will certainly unite in close solidarity. Yielding neither to the enticements nor to the threats of American imperialism,

they will fight dauntlessly on to win final victory in their struggle for national independence.

Armed aggression by the United States Government against the territory of China, Taiwan, and its extension of the aggressive war in Korea, has multiplied a thousandfold the Chinese people's hatred and indignation against American imperialism. Since June 27, thousands upon thousands of protests against these base acts of aggression committed by the United States Government have been raised by democratic political parties, people's organizations, national minorities, overseas Chinese, workers, peasants, intellectuals, industrialists and businessmen throughout China. All these demonstrated the irrepressible wrath of the Chinese people.

The Chinese people love peace. But if the United States aggressors take this as an indication of the weakness of the Chinese people, they will be making a grave mistake. The Chinese people never have been, and never will be, afraid of a war of resistance against aggression. Regardless of any military interference by the United States Government, and no matter how it may arrogate for its purpose the name of the United Nations, the Chinese people are firmly determined to recover Taiwan and all other territories belonging to China from the grip of the United States aggressors. This is the irrevocable and immovable will of the 475 million people of China. The United States must bear the full responsibility for all consequences that may arise from its invasion and occupation of Taiwan.

To safeguard international peace and security, and to uphold the sanctity of the United Nations Charter,

the United Nations Security Council has the inalienable duty to apply sanctions against the United States Government for its criminal acts of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and for its armed intervention in Korea. I, therefore, in the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, propose to the United Nations Security Council:

(1) That the United Nations Security Council openly condemn, and take concrete steps to apply severe sanctions against the United States Government for its criminal acts of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and for its armed intervention in Korea;

(2) That the United Nations Security Council immediately adopt effective measures to bring about the complete withdrawal by the United States Government of its forces of armed aggression from Taiwan, in order that peace and security in the Pacific and in Asia may be ensured; and

(3) That the United Nations Security Council immediately adopt effective measures to bring about the withdrawal from Korea of the armed forces of the United States of America and all other countries and to leave the people of North and South Korea to settle the domestic affairs of Korea themselves, so that a peaceful solution of the Korean question may be achieved.

These proposals have been translated into English. We request the Secretary-General of the United Nations to distribute them to members of the Security

Council, keeping one copy for himself. We ask that a copy should not be given to the reactionary Kuomintang representative, disowned by the people of China. Finally I wish to declare that the President of the Security Council has made use of the fact that the representative of the People's Republic of China has only just arrived at Lake Success and is not familiar with the procedure here and of the fact that the People's Republic of China is still not a member of the Security Council. He has conspired with the United States representative to arrange an unreasonable procedure as regards speaking before the Council. The President has thus deprived the representative of the People's Republic of China of his just right to speak first before the Council. I wish to lodge a serious protest against this action.

**SPEECH FOR DELIVERY TO THE U.N. POLITICAL
AND SECURITY COMMITTEE BY WU HSIU-
CHUAN, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO THE U.N.¹**

December 16, 1950

Mr. President and Members of the Committee:

I have listened to the speech made at the meeting of the Political and Security Committee on November 27 by the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Vyshinsky, charging the United States with aggression against China. In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby support and uphold completely the entire speech made by the representative of the Soviet Union, Mr. Vyshinsky, on the charge of United States aggression on China. Throughout its history, the Soviet Union has always been the great friend of the Chinese people. Long ago, shortly after the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet Government renounced the unequal treaties concluded with China by tsarist Russia and adopted a policy of real equality with China.

After the establishment of the Central People's

¹This is the text of the speech which Wu Hsiu-chuan prepared for, but was not permitted to deliver at the U.N. Political and Security Committee.

Government of the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union concluded with China the truly friendly Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance. This solidified in the form of a treaty profound friendship between the people of China and the people of the Soviet Union. Mr. Vyshinsky's speech demonstrates once again that the Soviet Union is the most reliable friend and ally of the Chinese people in their resistance to imperialist aggression and in their construction of a people's China.

All the imperialist aggressors, particularly those of the United States, are afraid of the unity between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union. They are afraid of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance which opposes imperialist aggression and defends the mutual interests of China and the Soviet Union. Because China and the Soviet Union are united, the imperialists can no longer carry out their aggressive plots. The strength of the 700 million people of China and the Soviet Union, firmly united, is the greatest obstacle in the path of imperialist aggression. Hence, in their desperation, the imperialist aggressors have devised various measures in their attempt to drive a wedge in the relationship between the two great allies — China and the Soviet Union. But I must tell these imperialist aggressors: The great unity between China and the Soviet Union is unshakable. All your conspiracies to drive such a wedge are futile, doomed to failure, and have already failed.

I have also listened on the same date to the reply by the United States representative, Mr. Dulles, to

Mr. Vyshinsky's speech. However, Mr. Dulles' reply to Mr. Vyshinsky, Mr. Austin's speech on this same question and his reply to my speech in the Security Council and the arguments of the representative of the United Kingdom, Mr. Jebb, supporting the United States representative—all these speeches, replies and arguments are distortions of fact, perversions of truth, that cannot withstand any examination. They have talked a great deal. But whatever they have said, whether it be on history, or philosophy, or politics, or economics, they could never succeed in making their arguments consistent.

This is because they are determined to support aggression and to argue for aggression. They wish to call aggression defence, to call war peace, to call truth falsehood and to call black white. But regardless of how eloquent they are, this is, after all, impossible. With regard to the problem at present under our discussion, is it possible for them to talk out of existence that big monster which stationed in the Taiwan Straits—the United States Seventh Fleet that is invading and occupying China's territory, Taiwan? Is it possible for them to talk about the violations of China's territorial air, about the bombing, strafing and reconnoitring over China on thousands of occasions, as if such things had not occurred at all? No, this is not possible.

But to do the impossible is exactly the mission which Mr. Dulles, Mr. Austin and other representatives of the Anglo-American bloc have undertaken here.

Posing as a kind-hearted gentleman, Mr. Dulles

started his speech with a discussion of the friendship between the people of China and the people of the United States. Well then, let us take up the discussion of the friendship between the Chinese people and the American people. Is there a profound friendship between the Chinese people and the American people? Yes. At the time of my arrival in New York, I pointed out: "There has always been a profound friendship between the Chinese people and the American people." I would like to emphasize again: Not only has there been a profound friendship between the Chinese people and the American people in the past, not only is there a profound friendship at present, but this friendship will continue to exist in the future. But the friendship between the Chinese people and the American people has nothing whatsoever in common with the so-called friendship, of which Messrs. Dulles, Austin, Acheson and Truman have spoken, with "friendship" between the United States imperialist aggressors and the Chinese people who were subjected to such aggression. Mr. Dulles and Mr. Austin made great efforts in their speeches to prove the existence of the so-called friendship of the United States imperialist aggressors towards the Chinese people. According to Mr. Dulles, this friendship was not based primarily upon American commercial interests in China, but was based upon cultural and humanitarian motives. It is claimed that this has always been the case in the relationship between the United States imperialists and China for the past 150 years.

What actually is this so-called historic friendship of the United States imperialists towards the Chinese

people? What is the actual content of their cultural and humanitarian endeavours in China? Who are actually their friends in China?

Like the British, the American imperialists were traffickers in opium; they too shipped opium to China from the earliest years. A considerable portion of the opium seized in Canton in 1839 was found in the hands of American opium dealers. In the Opium War, the U.S. naval commodore Kearny himself commanded a fleet which came to Chinese waters to support the British forces. In July 1844, the United States forced the Manchu Government into signing the Treaty of Wanghsia. America was the first nation to devise provisions concerning "extraterritoriality" and "equal share of interests." The Treaty of Wanghsia was one of the earliest unequal treaties which the Manchu Government concluded with foreign governments.

During the period from 1857 to 1860, when Britain and France jointly invaded China, occupying Tientsin and Peking, American warships also took part in that action. Moreover, the United States took advantage of the opportunity to force the Manchu Government into signing the Sino-American Treaty of Tientsin (1858) and obtained thereby such special privileges as restrictions on China's customs duties and navigation in Chinese inland waters.

In 1862, the United States consul in Shanghai directed Frederick Townsend Ward and other Americans to organize troops jointly with the British to help the Manchu Government in suppressing the Tai-ping revolutionary movement of the Chinese people.

In 1871, American troops attacked Korea.

In 1900, the United States took part in the eight-nation invasion of China and together with other imperialist powers acquired the prerogative under the Treaty of Peking of stationing troops in Peking and other Chinese cities.

In November 1917, the U.S. Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, and the Japanese Special Envoy to the United States, Ishii, signed an agreement in which America recognized Japan's prerogatives in China. In 1919, at the Paris Peace Conference the United States further recognized the Japanese succession to the prerogatives of Germany in Shantung Province.

From 1922 to 1924, the United States Government supported the Chinese warlords of the Chihli clique, Tsao Kun and Wu Pei-fu, with arms and loans to carry on civil war.

In the massacre of May 30, 1925, the United States imperialists took part in the slaughter of the Chinese people.

In March 1927, in order to suppress the Great Revolution of China and in particular to bring about the surrender of Chiang Kai-shek to imperialism, the United States Government, together with Britain, bombarded Nanking, perpetrating the Hsiakuan Massacre.

During the period from 1931 to 1933, the United States supplied the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary government with loans (one of which amounted to 50 million U.S. dollars), aeroplanes, and military advisers, for the purpose of attacking the Workers' and

Peasants' Red Army led by the Communist Party of China.

During the period of the Japanese invasion of China, the United States Government supplied Japan with a vast amount of war material. According to Japanese official data, war material imported from the United States accounted for 33.5 per cent of the total Japanese imports of war material in 1937. In March 1940, the percentage further increased to 38.7. As late as the end of 1941, imports of scrap iron from the United States to Japan accounted for 70 per cent of the total Japanese imports of scrap iron.

After the surrender of Japan, the United States Government became even more active in its aggression against China, in an attempt to take Japan's place in ruling over China and in order to turn China into an American colony. On November 4, 1946, the United States Government concluded with Chiang Kai-shek the notorious aggressive "Sino-American Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation," which robbed China of sovereignty over her economy, customs, and coastal and inland navigation. Even a certain British Member of Parliament termed this "the most savage economic aggression against China in history."

After the surrender of Japan, the United States Government helped Chiang Kai-shek with money, ammunition, military equipment, war material and military advisers to launch a full-scale civil war against the Chinese people. From about the time of the Japanese surrender to June 1948, according to available data, the various forms of aid given by the U.S. Government to Chiang Kai-shek amounted to

more than 6,000 million U.S. dollars. Such was the huge investment of the United States Government in Chiang Kai-shek's civil war against the people.

Thus, the history of the past 150 years proves that the United States imperialists have consistently been the aggressors against China. Their so-called friendship towards the Chinese people is but another name for aggression. Their so-called cultural and humanitarian endeavours in China are actually nothing but means to realize such aggression. Their friends in China, from the Manchu Emperor, Tseng Kuo-fan, Li Hung-chang, Yuan Shih-kai, Wu Pei-fu and Tsao Kun down to Chiang Kai-shek, who is spat upon by the people throughout China, have all been their lackeys in committing aggression.

As is well-known, the best friend of the United States Government in China now is Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang Kai-shek is the best friend of the United States imperialists; yet he is the most deadly enemy of the Chinese people. Does this not prove that the American imperialists have always been the friends of the enemies of the Chinese people and that they themselves are the enemies of the Chinese people?

Mr. Dulles and Mr. Austin have attempted here to glorify the United States "Open Door" policy towards China. They consider this policy as the highest manifestation of the friendship of the American ruling clique towards the Chinese people. But what, in history, has been the actual meaning of the "Open Door" policy? The "Open Door" policy meant that China's door must be kept open to the American imperialists as well as to other imperialist countries. It meant the

opposition of the American imperialists to the monopolization of China by other imperialist countries. It meant a share for the American imperialists in the spoils of every aggression against China by other imperialist countries. It meant "equal opportunity" for the American imperialists, with other imperialist countries, in the exploitation of China. Is that not crystal clear?

The ruling groups of the United States did carry on many so-called cultural, religious and humanitarian projects in China. Many good-hearted American people did indeed believe in the deceitful propaganda of the United States ruling groups and participate in these projects. But the actual aim and the objective effect of such projects was to paralyse the minds of the Chinese people so that they would not resist aggression by the United States imperialists.

The best illustration of the so-called friendship of the American imperialists towards the Chinese people is the so-called aid to China from the United States Government, which Mr. Dulles and Mr. Austin have also attempted to glorify. Was there any aid from the United States Government to China? Yes, there was indeed. But those who were aided by the United States Government are the enemies of the Chinese people. They were aided to suppress the Chinese people and to slaughter the Chinese people. Mr. Austin has asserted that, in the past 13 years, the so-called aid to China from the United States Government amounted to a yearly average of more than 100 million U.S. dollars.

Mr. Austin has also pointed out that the actual amount was even greater than this figure. In the period after the war, the United States Government has supplied a vast amount of arms, guns, bombs, ammunition, aeroplanes and naval vessels to the Chiang Kai-shek government to wage civil war. But let us look at the result of such so-called aid from the United States Government. Chiang Kai-shek slaughtered several million Chinese people with the aid of American arms. I have here an album of photographs of a part of the United States military equipment captured by the Chinese People's Liberation Army from the reactionary Kuomintang troops. I shall ask the members of this Committee to pass this album around. It is an iron-clad proof of the fact that the American imperialists slaughtered Chinese people through the hands of Chiang Kai-shek. This is one manifestation of the so-called friendship of the United States Government towards Chinese people.

Profound friendship has always existed between the Chinese people and the American people. But what the American imperialists have brought to China and the Chinese people is only aggression. There has never been any friendship of the Chinese people towards the American imperialists and the American ruling groups. There is only hatred. This hatred is the inevitable result of the United States imperialist policy of aggression against China. Because the American imperialist policy of aggression has already reached the stage of armed aggression against China, the friendship between the Chinese people and the

American people is now in danger of being undermined.

I would like to ask Mr. Dulles with his benevolent pose: Who is undermining the friendship between the people of China and the people of the United States? None other than the United States Government, the ruling groups of the United States, the United States imperialist aggressors, the United States Government in its policy and actions of armed aggression against China. It is the American imperialists who are sending the American youth to the Taiwan Straits and into China's territorial air to fight the Chinese people. Has there ever been any instance of the Chinese fleet entering American waters to prepare for war against the American people? Has there ever been any instance of Chinese aeroplanes intruding into the American air to bomb American women and children? Was it not Truman, the U.S. President, who announced that consideration is being given to using the criminal weapon, the atomic bomb, to annihilate the Chinese people and the Korean people?

The United States imperialist aggression against China has now been changed from its covert and roundabout form in the past to the form of outright and open aggression.

Taiwan is indisputably an inalienable part of China's territory. The liberation of Taiwan by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is an exercise of sovereign rights over its own territory. This is strictly a domestic issue which allows of no interference from any foreign power. Yet President Truman openly dispatched

American armed forces to Taiwan to prevent the Chinese People's Liberation Army from liberating Taiwan. This is clearly an outright and open aggression against China's territory on the part of the United States imperialists.

The United States representatives and their followers have said that "Taiwan is one of the territories formerly belonging to Japan, and its disposal, like that of other territories belonging to Japan, still remains a matter of international concern." These representatives of the Anglo-American bloc have forgotten that Taiwan has always been, historically, an integral part of China's territory. The inhabitants of Taiwan are Chinese people, under the jurisdiction of the Chinese Government. Taiwan was stolen by Japan only in 1895. The status of Taiwan was not only decided upon in the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Declaration; these decisions have been in effect for five years ever since the end of the Second World War.

The representative of the United States, Mr. Austin, has asserted that the United States invasion of Taiwan was for the military neutralization of that island. Yet, according to the United Nations Charter and according to international law, no reason whatsoever may be advanced to justify interference in the domestic affairs of other countries or aggression against the territory of other countries. To argue that the invasion of Taiwan by the United States armed forces is for the military neutralization of Taiwan is precisely an unwittingly self-admitted proof of United States aggression against Taiwan.

Mr. Dulles has asserted that the Government of the United States has not invaded Taiwan, because according to him, only 44 United States military personnel are stationed on Taiwan. Mr. Dulles thought that this would prove that the Government of the United States had not invaded Taiwan. But Mr. Dulles failed to tell us: How many military personnel are there with the Seventh Fleet and where is that Seventh Fleet stationed? Mr. Dulles used the trick of talking things out of existence to defend the United States aggression on Taiwan. But no amount of Mr. Dulles' sophistry can make the Seventh Fleet which has invaded Taiwan vanish into thin air.

Mr. Austin, on the other hand, used another set of tricks. He did not deny the fact that the United States Seventh Fleet had invaded the Taiwan Straits. But he attempted to deny the indisputable fact that Taiwan is China's territory and the international agreements which stipulate it. He had the audacity to raise the question: What are the intentions of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China towards Taiwan? The Chinese people are determined to recover Taiwan from the clutches of the shameless United States aggressors.

We are determined to do it and we have the strength to do it. The Government of the United States must bear the full responsibility for all consequences that may arise from any attempt to interfere. Mr. Austin has attempted to steal the name of the United Nations to legitimize the illegal United States aggression on Taiwan. But I must tell Mr. Austin: All the illegal resolutions passed by the United Nations under the

manipulation of the United States Government do not have the least binding force over the Chinese people. The Chinese people are not only determined to defeat the major aggressors with whom China is confronting; they are also determined to defeat all other aggressors who dare to invade China's territory.

Mr. Dulles dare not deny the aggressive acts committed by the United States air force from Korea—their violations of China's territorial air, their bombing, strafing and reconnoitring. Mr. Dulles has asserted that of the 83 violations of China's territorial air brought forward by the Soviet Delegation on November 15, 1950, 61 were merely of a reconnaissance character. I would like to ask Mr. Dulles: Assuming that these violations of China's territorial air were of a reconnaissance character, does that mean that they were not acts of aggression? What if Chinese aeroplanes should fly over New York for reconnaissance? What would be Mr. Dulles' reaction then? The United States representative also asserted that if facts should prove that the United States military aircraft did invade China's territorial air, bomb Chinese cities and kill Chinese people, the Government of the United States was willing to pay appropriate compensation for the damage. How lightly the United States representative speaks! But I would like to call the attention of the United States representative to the fact that the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China cannot be bought with dollars. I would also like to tell the United States representative: You have encountered many difficulties in the present-day world. One source of these difficulties is that you think you

can buy the sovereign rights of any country with your dollars. But you forget that China is now a country where the people are in power. The sovereignty of that country cannot be bought with your filthy dollars. The only kind of sovereignty you could buy was the kind that existed in old China under Chiang Kai-shek's rule. But unfortunately for you, the ruling clique of old China, in spite of the billions of dollars that it had received from you, was finally driven from China's mainland by the Chinese people. That is just the reason for your animosity towards the Chinese people, Mr. Dulles.

Mr. Austin has asserted: "The United States Government's actions since the establishment of the Peiping regime have not been aggressive towards China or towards Korea or in Korea." But it is not an easy job for a robber loaded with loot to disguise himself as an angel entering the Gate of Heaven.

I shall now present to the Committee the following facts. With these facts, I accuse the United States Government of intervention, aggression and hostility against China.

1. The Government of the United States has actively supported and is still actively supporting the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek remnant clique in Taiwan in its desperate struggle, and has directed Chiang to blockade China's coast and to bomb Chinese cities. The United States Government has continuously been shipping ammunition, arms and other war material to Taiwan. According to incomplete statistics, from January to October of this year, the governments of the United States and Canada sent several hundred

aeroplanes and over seven hundred tanks to the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary remnant clique, while United States military officers trained Chiang Kai-shek's troops to fight against the Chinese people.

The American warmonger Claire Chennault, former Commander of the United States 14th Air Force, has said openly: "To strangle the Communists by starvation, blockade is necessary." As is well-known to the whole world, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary remnant clique has been using American aircraft to bomb Chinese coastal cities. On February 6 this year, Chiang Kai-shek used American planes to conduct a savage bombing of Shanghai, killed and wounded more than one thousand Chinese people and damaged a vast number of houses and a vast amount of other property. These things the Chinese people will never forget.

In addition to its open and active support to the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary remnant clique in the latter's desperate struggle, the Government of the United States is also trying to sabotage the People's Republic of China from within. The secret service agencies of the United States Government together with those of the Kuomintang are jointly directing various kinds of disruptive activities by secret agents and bandits. According to the statistical report of the Military and Political Committee of Southwest China, 60 per cent of the important bandit leaders in the southwestern provinces have had secret service training from the United States and Chiang Kai-shek. The same Chennault stated openly in the November 18th issue of *Collier's* magazine: "A programme of military aid to anti-Communist Chinese guerillas is

practicable. It would not cost very many American dollars. It would cost no American lives."

2. The United States Government has employed every possible measure to prevent the representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China from participating in the United Nations and in the Allied Council for Japan, while insisting on the usurpation of China's seat on these bodies by the representatives of the Kuomintang reactionary clique on Taiwan, the public enemies of the Chinese people.

Since November 15, 1949, our Foreign Minister Chou En-lai has repeatedly demanded that the illegal representatives of the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique be expelled from the United Nations. The representatives of the Soviet Union, India and other countries have also repeatedly made similar proposals before the General Assembly and the Security Council of the United Nations. But all these just demands and proposals have been rejected by the United States and its satellites. As a result, the United States Government has not only kept the representatives of the Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique in the United Nations, but also led its pack of lackeys to attack the justified charge of aggression levelled at it by the lawful representative of the People's Republic of China.

3. The Government of the United States is actively rearming the fascist forces in Japan. The Japanese fascist forces are being revived. Disregarding protests and warnings from our Government, General MacArthur has illegally released a large number of

Japanese war criminals who had invaded China. The Japanese army is being rebuilt by the United States authorities in Japan under the name of the "Police Reserve." The Japanese police force has already reached 125,000 men. The Japanese navy is also being revived. The so-called Marine Security Bureau of Japan already has 300 vessels under its command. The Government of the United States is contriving to conclude a separate peace with Japan in order to obtain an exclusive domination over Japan. The recent Aide Mémoire of the United States Department of State to the Far Eastern Commission even proposes openly that the status of the Chinese territory of Taiwan be determined by joint consultation between the United States of America, the United Kingdom, China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. From this Aide Mémoire one can see what kind of peace treaty with Japan the United States Government has in mind. In adopting such a policy towards Japan, the Government of the United States is unquestionably aiming at the conversion of Japan into a military base to serve the American imperialists in waging an aggressive war in the East. In fact, the United States Government has already made use of Japan as a military base, and of the Japanese fascist warlords, to launch armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan, and against China's neighbour, Korea.

4. The United States Government has built up a vast network of military bases in the Pacific. This network runs from Alaska through the Aleutian Islands, Japan, the Ryukyu Islands, Korea, Taiwan, the

Philippines, and Viet-Nam down to Thailand. Everyone can see that this network of bases represents an encirclement of New China. In fact, General MacArthur has openly admitted that this network of bases is aimed at China and the Soviet Union as its objects of encirclement and targets for attack. The simultaneous armed aggression against China's territory, Taiwan, and China's neighbour, Korea, is not only the inevitable consequence of the consistent American imperialist aggression against China, but also a premeditated step for a further total attack against China. The aim of the United States Government in its aggression on Taiwan is to convert Taiwan into a springboard for attack on the Chinese mainland. Similarly, the armed aggression against Korea is aimed at converting that country into another springboard for an American imperialist attack on the mainland of China.

From the very outset, the aggression of the United States Government against Korea threatened China's security. Since then, the United States Government has disregarded the repeated warnings of the Chinese Government and directed its aggressive armed forces in Korea to persistently extend the flames of war towards China's northeastern border. There can be no purpose behind such a course of action by the United States Government other than that of proceeding to the invasion of China after the occupation of Korea is completed.

Historical facts have shown that the end of a first aggression is the beginning of a second aggression. In fact, even though they had not achieved their aim to occupy all Korea, the American imperialist aggres-

sors and their puppets had their next step formulated in advance. In 1949, Syngman Rhee submitted to the United States Government a draft of the "Korean-American Treaty of Alliance." Article 7 of this draft treaty stated: "It is recognized and understood by the High Contracting Parties that if the war of liberation (*i.e.* the United States war of aggression—*Ed.*) must be continued on the territory of Manchuria in reply to an attack of the Chinese Communist Party on Korea, His Excellency the President of the United States of America helps His Excellency the President of the Korean Republic to bring the war of liberation to a victorious conclusion. In his turn, the President of the Korean Republic, apart from the rehabilitation of Northern Korea, which will be of main interest for the Korean Republic, undertakes to hand over the development of the natural resources of Manchuria and other parts of Eastern China to the joint administration of the United States and Korea."

Warmongers in America have been continuously clamouring that the United States armed forces must cross the northern border of Korea and invade Northeast China. The widely-distributed American magazine *United States News and World Report*, in its October 13th issue, published a bomb chart of the United States forces of aggression in Korea, in which cities of Northeast China are clearly marked as targets. Two days after my arrival in New York, on November 26, the *New York Times* published a letter from Mr. Henry de Young, the former South Korean minister to MacArthur's headquarters in Japan, suggesting the establishment of a buffer state on China's

territory north of the Yalu River. It cannot be accidental that the *New York Times* should have published such a letter. All these things indicate that the United States armed forces engaged in aggression in Korea are systematically plotting to invade North-east China.

The intention of the United States Government to extend the aggressive war in Korea is even more clearly manifested in the actions of these United States armed forces. As early as August 27, the aircraft and naval vessels of the United States armed forces engaged in aggression in Korea started persistent provocations against China. From August 27 to November 24, the United States air force engaged in aggression in Korea employed more than 1,000 aeroplanes to violate China's territorial air on more than 200 occasions, and penetrated far into China's territory to bomb, strafe and reconnoitre, causing heavy casualties among the Chinese people and serious damage to Chinese property.

Furthermore, naval craft of the United States forces engaged in aggression against Taiwan and Korea unlawfully inspected Chinese peaceful merchant shipping on the high seas. The long series of aggressive actions of the United States proves that the United States Government is determined to extend its aggression to China, and that aggressive, warlike actions by the American imperialists against the People's Republic of China have already begun. I have here a series of tables which I shall ask the Chairman to pass around among the members of the Committee. This series of tables records the course of events

from August 27 to 9:20 a.m., November 10, with regard to violations of China's territorial air by the United States military aircraft, their bombing, strafing and reconnoitring over China's territory, and the consequent damage to Chinese property and killing of Chinese people.

The American imperialists have long been committing acts of aggression against China. The American imperialists have been hostile to the Chinese people on every issue. The American imperialists have launched aggression simultaneously against Taiwan and Korea. They are determined to extend the aggressive war against Korea. They have persistently carried out provocations against China. Under these circumstances, which they could no longer tolerate, the Chinese people, in order to protect their homeland, are volunteering in great numbers to go to the aid of the Korean people to resist the American imperialists. This is completely natural, reasonable and honourable. There is no reason why the warmongers should be surprised by it.

The United States rulers, acting on a premeditated plan, directed their puppet Syngman Rhee to launch an attack on the Korean Democratic People's Republic, thus unleashing the civil war in Korea. Under the pretext of intervening in the civil war in Korea, the ruling groups of the United States further launched aggression simultaneously against Taiwan and Korea. The United States aggression upon China's territory, Taiwan, is an act of outright and open aggression which is completely unjustified, and its aggression in Korea is equally inexcusable. The arguments put forward

by the United States Government to justify its aggression against Korea will not bear examination. The United States Government has attempted to cover up its armed intervention in Korea under the cloak of the United Nations, but its efforts are in vain.

If the Syngman Rhee reactionary clique had not only unleashed the civil war in Korea but also gained the upper-hand in it and pushed into the interior of the Korean Democratic People's Republic from the outset, we may be sure that the United States Government would never have considered this an aggression by South Korea against North Korea. Nor would they have called upon the United Nations to undertake any so-called measures to "resist aggression." But unfortunately for the ruling groups of the United States, the Korean Democratic People's Republic repelled the provocative attack of Syngman Rhee's reactionary clique. What is more, it immediately switched to the counter-offensive and swiftly pushed the war into the area ruled by Syngman Rhee's reactionary clique. Then the United States Government started to scream about the absolutely absurd charge of "aggression" against South Korea by North Korea. It at once dispatched U.S. armed forces, according to its premeditated plan, to carry out armed intervention in the internal affairs of Korea and armed aggression against the Korean people.

To brand as aggression the counter-offensive of the people's armed forces of North Korea in the civil war against the reactionary clique in South Korea, is to perpetrate the biggest lie in history. But it is on this big lie that the United States Government relies

to cover up its armed aggression against Korea. We would like to ask the American representative the following questions. During the American civil war in the sixties of the 19th century, President Lincoln led the armed forces of the Northern states in a counter-attack upon the Southern states. Does the United States representative maintain that this was an aggression by the Northern states against the South? Does he maintain that President Lincoln was the greatest ringleader of this aggression? Not long ago, similar events took place in China. In 1946, the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary clique violated peace in China and launched a civil war against the Liberated Areas which were under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. In 1948, after having repelled the offensive of Chiang Kai-shek, the armed forces of the Chinese people counter-attacked and pushed the war into the areas under the Kuomintang rule. Does the United States representative consider that this was aggression by the Chinese People's Liberation Army against the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary clique?

The United States ruling groups may disown their own history, but the peace-loving people of the whole world know the clear facts. The counter-offensive of the armed forces of the North Korean people in the civil war against Syngman Rhee's reactionary clique in South Korea is in no sense an aggression. The real aggressors are the United States Government, the ruling groups of the United States, the American imperialists who dispatched their armed forces to Korea to attack the Korean people under the pretext of opposing

the so-called aggression by North Korea against South Korea. People all over the world are asking the rulers of the United States: How could the Korean people commit aggression against the Korean people? Why are the armed forces of the United States being sent to Korea, 5,000 miles away from America, to attack the Korean people, who have never committed any aggression against the United States? This is a very pertinent question. The Korean people could no more commit aggression against the Korean people than the American people could commit aggression against the American people. The Korean people have never been aggressors against the United States or the people of the United States. It is the ruling groups in the United States that have intervened in the internal affairs of Korea and committed armed aggression against Korea.

The ruling groups in the United States have usurped the name of the United Nations in an attempt to cover up their intervention in the internal affairs of Korea. However, such a manoeuvre cannot deceive anyone either. The United States representatives have repeatedly cited the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council of June 25, June 27 and July 7, which requested members of the United Nations to render armed support to the so-called Republic of Korea in opposing the Korean Democratic People's Republic for its alleged aggression.

It is said that these are the legal grounds upon which the United Nations troops are acting against North Korea for its "aggression." But all these "legal" grounds are themselves illegal. They violate

the United Nations Charter both in their form and in their substance.

The Charter of the United Nations clearly stipulates that the United Nations is not authorized to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. However, all the above-mentioned resolutions of the United Nations Security Council on the Korean issue are in gross violation of the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of any state, and hence illegal.

From the point of view of procedure, the adoption of these resolutions in the Security Council is also illegal.

The Charter of the United Nations clearly stipulates that decisions of the Security Council on all matters other than procedural ones shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members.

But all those resolutions were adopted without the participation and the concurring votes of two great nations which are permanent members, the Soviet Union and China. Therefore, they are in violation of the United Nations Charter and illegal.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has long since expressed its stand, that it firmly opposes the reactionary resolutions adopted in the United Nations Security Council under the manipulation of the United States Government. In fact, it is superfluous to study and to analyse the illegal nature of these resolutions. This is because it was only after the United States Government had already decided on June 27 to commit armed inter-

vention in the domestic affairs of Korea, and had made a statement to the whole world to this effect, that Mr. Austin was ordered to present the resolution to the Security Council asking that it be approved.

Mr. Austin has repeatedly argued that the so-called war against aggression in Korea is being waged by United Nations troops. But who can be deceived by such arguments? Those who are fighting against the Korean people today are not United Nations troops but mainly United States troops, with a small number of troops of other countries which are helping the United States. The person directing the war is not a United Nations commander-in-chief either, but the commander-in-chief of the United States Armed Forces in the Far East, General MacArthur, who is bitterly hated by the people of Asia.

The purpose of these troops which are fighting against the Korean people is not to oppose aggression as it is alleged, because the Korean people could not possibly commit aggression against the Korean people. Nor is it their purpose to achieve independence and unity for Korea, because there could never be such an absurdity as the independence and unity of a country having to be achieved by the armed forces of a foreign country, or of several foreign countries. The purpose of the United States troops which are fighting the Korean people is to conquer the whole of Korea and to use Korea as a springboard to attack the mainland of China. As I have stated, the attack on the mainland of China has already begun.

These troops of the United States and of Syngman Rhee, which are fighting against the Korean people,

have violated all international rules and precedents. They have carried on mass slaughter of innocent and peace-loving inhabitants of Korea, including women and children. They have savagely destroyed peaceful towns and villages in Korea. Their barbarism and cruelty have surpassed those of the Hitlerite troops in Europe. There are no bounds to the anger that has been aroused by these barbaric, cruel and inhuman acts among the peoples of Korea and China and the peace-loving nations of the world. I must point out here that, between August 5 and November 27, the Foreign Minister of the Korean Democratic People's Republic, Pak Hen En, has repeatedly protested to the United Nations, demanding that the United Nations put an end to such inhuman cruelties by the United States and Rhee's troops.

However, the United Nations has purposely disregarded these protests and has purposely covered up this bloody record. Despite the fact that the People's Army of Korea has given magnanimous treatment to war prisoners who have laid down their arms—as is well-known to the American people, the People's Army of Korea has set free large groups of these war prisoners—reports spread by the ruling clique in the United States have purposely exaggerated news of United States troops being killed at the battlefield to deceive the American people, to incite a spirit of revenge, and thus add pretexts for still more massacre and destruction in Korea by the armies of the United States and Syngman Rhee. These are shameful acts. We must wrathfully protest against them. The reactionary view that only

the lives of the Anglo-Saxons are precious, while the lives of the Asian people are worthless, can no longer be tolerated. The Chinese people will fight resolutely and without regard to sacrifice against the unprecedented barbaric, cruel and inhuman acts of the troops of the United States and Syngman Rhee.

Members of the Committee! The true substance of the Korean issue is that the United States Government has committed armed intervention in Korea and slaughtered the Korean people. Its aim is to conquer the whole of Korea and to attack the mainland of China. In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby place before the United Nations General Assembly the charge that the United States Government is guilty of unlawful, criminal and aggressive acts of armed aggression in Korea, of slaughtering the Korean people, of extending the Korean war and of threatening China's mainland.

The armed aggression of the United States Government against Taiwan is completely unjustified, outright, open aggression. The armed aggression of the United States Government against Korea is in substance equally unjustified and inexcusable. The fact that the United States Government has carried out simultaneous armed aggression against Taiwan and Korea further proves that this armed aggression by the United States Government is in fact the realization of a premeditated plan of a large-scale aggression. Therefore, it is this aggression—which is so brazen—that threatens simultaneously the Chinese people and the Korean people.

President Truman of the United States, its Secretary of State Mr. Acheson, and its representative Mr. Austin, have persistently argued that the aggression against Taiwan by the United States Government was necessary to its armed intervention in Korea. Even the President of the Security Council in November, Mr. Bebler, has argued in the same way. Mr. Bebler has asserted that the question of aggression against Taiwan by the United States Government was only of secondary importance. By so arguing, he has supported those who advocate that the charge of armed aggression against Taiwan, brought by my Government against the United States, should not be discussed at all, or that the solution of the question of the United States armed aggression on Taiwan must await the solution of the Korean question. I would like to point out that all these arguments are absurd and biased in favour of the United States aggressors.

The Charter of the United Nations clearly stipulates that no justification whatsoever may be pleaded as an excuse for aggression. On what ground could the armed intervention in Korea by the United States Government be used as an excuse for its armed aggression on Taiwan? The attempt of the United States representative to justify the United States armed aggression on Taiwan by its armed intervention in Korea, is ridiculous. It cannot deceive anyone, nor will it bear examination.

There is indeed a close relationship between the United States aggression on Taiwan and its aggression on Korea. But the relationship is not that the armed intervention in Korea by the United States

Government may be used as a justification of its aggression against Taiwan. The true relationship is that the aggressions of the United States Government against both Taiwan and Korea are part of its overall design of attack against the mainland of China. The Chinese people view those who are waging an aggressive war against the Korean people in Korea as the same aggressors who are guilty of the same crime against Taiwan. As the United States Government has simultaneously launched aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and against its close neighbour, Korea, there is no reason why the Chinese people should not support the Korean people, on a voluntary basis, against the United States armed aggression on Korea—at the same time as they are resisting the United States armed aggression on Taiwan.

I have heard much empty talk in the Security Council to the effect that the troops now fighting in Korea have no intention of committing aggression against the northeastern territory of China. Moreover, it is said that the majority of the members of the Security Council are ready to put such assurances into a resolution. It seems that the Chinese people should now rest assured. This is taking the Chinese people for idiots.

It is to be noted that those countries which wish to assure us that the United States troops in Korea would not violate the territory of China are precisely those which maintain that the United States Seventh Fleet should remain in the Taiwan Straits and continue its aggression against China.

Suppose a detachment of the armed forces of a country hostile to the United States had occupied Hawaii, while another detachment of this same country was attacking the neighbour of the United States, Mexico. And suppose the aggressor then assured the American people: "You have nothing to fear. Our troops in Mexico will not commit any aggression against the United States." Is it conceivable that the American people would believe in the assurances given by such an aggressor and its accomplices? Just so, the United States Government has invaded the territory of China, Taiwan, while its armed forces threaten to approach the border of China from another direction. Yet the United States Government and its accomplices are demanding that the Chinese people believe in their assurances that the armed forces which are approaching China's border would not invade China's territory.

The Chinese people have had too much experience in struggle to pay any attention whatsoever to such empty words. The United States Seventh Fleet is invading the Taiwan Straits and the air force of the United States engaged in aggression in Korea has violated the territorial air of China more than 200 times. Such actions refute any assurances that may be given by Mr. Austin or Mr. Jebb. The acts of the United States Seventh Fleet are much more powerful and eloquent than the words of Mr. Austin.

The Chinese people understand fully and correctly the whole implication of the constant provocations against China by the military forces of the United States which are committing armed aggression

simultaneously against Taiwan and Korea. The aggressor who has invaded Korea is exactly the same aggressor who is invading Taiwan. The Chinese people understand that once the aggressor in Korea completes his aggression against Korea, his next step will inevitably be a further aggression against the mainland of China. China is the only country which has a 500-kilometre-long common border with Korea.

Throughout history, the peoples of China and Korea have always relied upon each other. Any aggressor who invades Korea today invariably invades China tomorrow. This is what imperialist Japan did 55 years ago. This is what the American imperialists are doing now, only they are proceeding with greater speed. Hence, the Chinese people, in their resistance against the United States aggression on Taiwan, render help on a voluntary basis to the Korean people in resisting the aggressive actions of the United States. Such actions are not only irreproachable; they are wholly right. Such actions are not only help rendered by the Chinese people to their neighbour, but also an act of defence of their own homeland.

It is the American imperialist aggressors and their accomplices who have committed armed aggression against Taiwan and Korea. The actions of the Chinese people in rendering voluntary support to the Korean people in their resistance to the aggression of the United States Government, are rightful deed—aimed at opposing intervention and aggression. So long as the criminal acts of intervention and aggression on the part of the United States aggressors and their accomplices continue, the righteous struggle of

the Chinese people and the Korean people against intervention and aggression will never cease—no matter how the United States aggressors and their accomplices try to pervert the truth, to cheat and to deceive.

The American imperialists have come 5,000 miles across the Pacific to invade Korea and Taiwan. To argue that the Chinese people must not render any voluntary support to the Korean people to oppose the intervention and aggression by the American imperialists against both China and Korea, is absurd and inconceivable. The lance of the American aggressors has extended too far. It has stabbed across 5,000 miles of the Pacific into the territory of China and Korea. The Chinese and the Korean peoples demand resolutely that the United States aggressors and their accomplices draw back this aggressive lance—by simultaneously withdrawing all their armed forces from Taiwan and Korea.

Recently, owing to the bankruptcy of the "end the war" offensive launched by the American General MacArthur, President Truman of the United States, its Secretary of State Mr. Acheson, and its representative Mr. Austin have screamed about "new aggression" or "intervention" by China in Korea. They have threatened once more to usurp the name of the United Nations to extend the war further into the mainland of China, not hesitating at all to stir up a third world war. Members of the Committee! These are barbaric threats. The people of China and the people of Korea, determined to resist the United States aggression, will never bow their heads

to any threat whatsoever. The ruling groups in the United States are attempting once more to steal the name of the United Nations, this time to extend their aggressive war against Korea into the mainland of China. We firmly oppose such use of the United Nations by the United States, for it would be a thorough violation of the United Nations Charter.

At the same time, I must say something to the representatives of those countries which are prepared to support such a manoeuvre by the United States. If you do this, it will mean that you are taking a further step in supporting the United States aggression. It will mean that you are making enemies of the 475 million people of China and of the people of the whole world who love peace and oppose war. The people of China and the people of the whole world would not lightly forgive you for such an act. You would bear the full responsibility for the inevitable consequences of your actions.

President Truman of the United States and its Secretary of State Mr. Acheson have constantly referred to the "crisis" in the present international situation. Yes, there is indeed a "crisis" in the present international situation. But we would like to ask: What is the origin of this "crisis"? The origin of this crisis is the aggressive and war policy of the American imperialists. A handful of American imperialist aggressors are determined to extend aggression and to cry for world war, thus creating the so-called crisis in the present international situation.

The people of the whole world are opposed to war. Nevertheless, peace cannot be obtained by making con-

cessions to aggressors. The only way to avert the so-called war crisis and to improve the present international situation is for the peace-loving people of the whole world to strengthen their resistance to the imperialist aggression by the United States and to strengthen their struggle to end this imperialist aggression. Mr. Austin, in a complete distortion of facts, asserted that the question of world peace or world war is to be decided by the Chinese people, as if the Chinese people want to bomb America and to drop atomic bombs on the United States. No, Mr. Austin, the judgment of the whole world is not to be distorted!

The situation that confronts the whole world today is that a few American imperialist aggressors are determined, against the will of the American people and of the people of the whole world, to extend aggression and to cry for war, even threatening to use the atomic bomb. The Chinese people have learned from their bitter experience of long struggles that only by resisting the aggression of the United States Government without the tiniest concession, can a world war be averted and peace of the world be maintained. The Chinese people are determined to do this. No threats or deceit can deter them.

The Chinese people are fully determined to recover Taiwan from the grip of the United States aggressors and to put an end to all direct and indirect aggressive actions of the United States Government against the People's Republic of China, and they are confident that they can do so. Moreover, to safeguard international peace and security and to uphold the sanctity of the

United Nations Charter, the United Nations has the inalienable duty to apply sanctions against the United States Government for its criminal acts of armed aggression on China's territory, Taiwan, and its armed intervention against China's neighbour, Korea. I, therefore, in the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, request that the General Assembly adopt the following resolution:

The General Assembly

Recognizing that the invasion and occupation of Taiwan by the armed forces of the United States of America constitute open and direct aggression on China's territory;

Recognizing that the armed aggression on China's territory and the armed intervention in Korea by the armed forces of the Government of the United States of America have shattered peace and security in Asia and violated the United Nations Charter and international agreements;

Requests the Security Council

(1) To condemn and to take concrete steps to apply severe sanctions against the United States Government for its criminal acts of armed aggression against the territory of China, Taiwan, and for its armed intervention in Korea;

(2) To immediately adopt effective measures to bring about the complete withdrawal by the United States Government of its forces of armed aggression from Taiwan, in order that peace and security in the Pacific and in Asia may be ensured; and

(3) To immediately adopt effective measures to bring about the withdrawal from Korea of the armed forces of the United States of America and all other countries and to leave the people of North and South Korea to settle the domestic affairs of Korea themselves, so that a peaceful solution of the Korean question may be achieved.

REPORT ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT COUNCIL BY CHOU EN-LAI, PREMIER AND MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

August 11, 1954

Comrade Chairman, Members of the Council:

In accordance with the agreement reached at the Four-Power Conference of Foreign Ministers in Berlin in February 1954, a conference was held in Geneva from April 26, 1954 onward with the participation of the representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom, the People's Republic of China and other countries concerned, to discuss separately the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and the question of restoring peace in Indo-China. The Central People's Government, supporting that agreement, designated me to lead the Chinese delegation to the conference. The Geneva Conference concluded its sessions on July 21. I now submit a report to the Central People's Government Council on the results of the Geneva Conference and on our foreign policy in the present period.

I

The People's Republic of China, from the time it was founded, has repeatedly declared its readiness to

establish and develop diplomatic relations with any country on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, and in its activities in international affairs it has worked steadily and perseveringly for the noble objectives of world peace and the progress of mankind. However, aggressive circles in the United States, unable to reconcile themselves to the fact that the reactionary rule of the traitorous, U.S.-supported Chiang Kai-shek clique has been overthrown by the Chinese people, have taken a consistently hostile position towards the 600 million liberated people of China, making them the target of armed intervention and the threat of war.

In their pursuit of world domination, the aggressive circles of the United States have consistently followed a policy of strength (armament drives and war preparations) and have been persistent in engineering the formation in Asia and Europe of various antagonistic military blocs for aggressive purposes, thus seeking to create international tension by which they might profit. Their aggressive activities have been particularly undisguised in Asia where they launched the war of aggression against Korea, stepped up their intervention in the Indo-China war and, at the same time, occupied the Chinese territory of Taiwan. The Korean war has long since been stopped and now peace has likewise been restored in Indo-China. The results of the Geneva Conference were a victory for the forces of peace and a defeat for the forces of war, but the aggressive circles of the United States have not acquiesced in this defeat.

They have become more active than ever in prompting and abetting the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors in carrying out an increasingly reckless war of harassment and destruction against the mainland and coastal areas of China. They are working vigorously for the revival of Japanese militarism, the formation of an anti-Communist military alliance in the Pacific, and aggressive blocs in Southeast Asia and the Middle East. They are doing all this in an attempt to create new tension in various parts of Asia. This policy of aggression pursued by the aggressive circles of the United States gives rise to perpetual threats to the peace of Asia and the world.

It is therefore necessary to shatter the designs of the aggressive circles of the United States to create new tension; to administer defeat after defeat to their aggressive policy if the peace and security of Asia and the world are to be safeguarded. The tasks now before us are to strive, together with the other nations concerned, to ensure the thorough implementation of the agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China reached at the Geneva Conference; to continue to seek the peaceful settlement of the Korean question; to take determined action with regard to the liberation of Taiwan so as to safeguard China's sovereignty and territorial integrity; to strengthen and develop China's peaceful co-operation with other nations of the world in conformity with the five principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual

benefit, and peaceful coexistence; and to strive for the establishment of collective peace in Asia.

II

While the Geneva Conference has resulted in a further relaxation of international tension, it encountered numerous obstacles and difficulties in the course of its work. The principal author of these obstacles and difficulties was the United States Government. The United States Government and its puppet Syngman Rhee clique maintained an arbitrary, unreasonable attitude for the purpose of sabotaging the work of the Conference on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. In the end, the United States Government manipulated some of the nations participating in the Conference into issuing a so-called Joint Declaration on this question, thus leading to the suspension of discussion, with the result that the Conference failed to accomplish its task of peacefully settling the Korean question. In the discussion of the Indo-China question, agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China were at last reached, thanks to the common efforts made by the great majority of the participating nations to overcome all kinds of obstacles set up by the United States. Although some points in these agreements are not entirely satisfactory, the success of the Geneva Conference in restoring peace in Indo-China was a tremendous one. The failure to reach agreement on the Korean question should not detract from the importance of this success.

The agreements of the Geneva Conference on the re-establishment of peace in Indo-China were reached on the basis of the recognition by France of the national rights of the Indo-Chinese peoples. These agreements not only provide concrete measures for the cessation of hostilities in the three Indo-Chinese states so as to end the eight-year-old Indo-China war and bring peace to the Indo-Chinese peoples and the French people, but also lay down principles for the settlement of political questions in the three Indo-Chinese states. The principle of ensuring respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia, and of non-interference in their internal affairs, was also accepted by the nations participating in the Conference.

Under the agreements on the cessation of hostilities in the three Indo-Chinese states, it is forbidden, after the armistice, to reinforce or replenish foreign troops and military personnel in Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia, as well as to import all types of arms and munitions except for those required by Laos and Cambodia for self-defence. Strict implementation of these agreements will ensure the stability of the armistice in Indo-China. The participating nations also agreed unanimously to invite India, Poland and Canada to form international commissions to supervise the implementation of the agreements on the cessation of hostilities in Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

According to the principles laid down by the Geneva Conference for the settlement of political

questions in Indo-China, nation-wide free elections will be held in Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia within the time limits specified for the respective countries, for the purpose of unifying each of these states on a democratic basis. In Viet-Nam, nation-wide free elections will be held in July 1956; in Laos and Cambodia in 1955. Under the obligations they have undertaken at the Geneva Conference, the three Indo-Chinese states will prohibit, on their respective territories, the establishment of military bases by any foreign country. The three Indo-Chinese states have also undertaken not to join any military alliance, and not to allow themselves to be used for the resumption of hostilities or in the service of any aggressive policy. The peoples of the three Indo-Chinese states will thus be enabled to lead a peaceful life and engage in peaceful construction of their respective motherlands.

Moreover, if the three Indo-Chinese states develop friendly relations among themselves and with France on the basis of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and enter into peaceful co-operation with neighbouring countries on the same basis, it will be possible to establish an area of collective peace in Indo-China and its surrounding countries. If favourable international conditions obtain, such an area of collective peace can be further enlarged so that the Southeast Asian countries, and countries throughout Asia, will be able to enjoy peaceful coexistence and be free from outside interference.

It was owing to the many-sided efforts made jointly by the Indo-Chinese peoples, the French people and the peace-loving nations and peoples throughout the

world, and above all owing to the long struggle waged by the Viet-Nameese people under the leadership of President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, that the Geneva Conference was able to score such a tremendous success. The policy of upholding world peace and international co-operation consistently pursued by the Soviet Union played an important part in the Geneva Conference. The conciliatory spirit displayed by France and the United Kingdom at the Geneva Conference, and the efforts made by the Colombo Powers, notably India, in promoting the conclusion of an armistice in Indo-China, also contributed towards the achievements of the Geneva Conference. The part played by the People's Republic of China in the Geneva Conference has been universally recognized and cannot be brushed aside by the aggressive circles of the United States.

The reaching of the Geneva agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China does not amount to the actual carrying out of these agreements. Even at the time when these agreements were reached at the Conference, the United States Government declared its unwillingness to take part in ensuring the restoration of peace in Indo-China in common with the other participating nations. Clearly, the aggressive circles of the United States do not intend to allow the smooth and thorough implementation of the agreements reached at the Geneva Conference. Recently, the aggressive circles of the United States have been egging on Australia, New Zealand, Thailand and the Philippines, trying to bring round Britain and France, and even trying to prevail upon the Colombo Powers to

join in a so-called Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. It is not difficult to perceive that this bloc is being organized mainly against China and for the purpose of undermining the collective co-operation of the nations participating in the Geneva Conference with regard to the question of Indo-China. If any of the nations concerned should join the aggressive circles of the United States in these divisive activities, the common cause of ensuring the restoration of peace in Indo-China would be endangered and the implementation of the Indo-Chinese armistice agreements might be disrupted.

We therefore firmly maintain that the nations concerned must join in ensuring the thorough implementation of the agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China, and that they must resolutely oppose the scheme of the aggressive circles of the United States to undermine the Geneva agreements by engineering a so-called Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

III

The achievements of the Geneva Conference demonstrate that international disputes can be settled by the peaceful method of negotiation. Increasing numbers of people in the world are coming out in favour of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, and the policy of strength (armament drives and war preparations) persistently pursued by the aggressive circles of the United States is becoming more and more unpopular. It is possible to achieve the progressive relaxation of international

tension provided all the countries and peoples that desire peace stand firm for peace and co-operation, provided they stand firm against war and the formation of antagonistic military blocs.

During the Geneva Conference, an improvement was brought about in the relations between the People's Republic of China and the United Kingdom. This will help to increase the possibilities of establishing normal relations between China and the countries of the West. The period under review has also witnessed fresh developments in trade and cultural interchange between China and Western countries.

The fact that in restoring peace in Indo-China the Geneva Conference has also succeeded in reaching agreement in principle on the settlement of relevant political questions, holds out new hopes for a political settlement of the Korean question. The work of the Conference on the Korean question was suspended not because the possibility of achieving unity of views on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question at the Geneva Conference did not exist, but because the United States Government and its puppet Syngman Rhee clique refused to negotiate and were afraid of reaching any agreement. Lately, they have been openly clamouring for the dissolution of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, with the design of undermining the Korean Armistice Agreement. This shows still more clearly that the United States has no intention of settling the Korean question peacefully. However, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question has in no way been struck off the agenda. We hold firmly that it is necessary to settle the question

of Korea's peaceful unification as soon as possible, under conditions favourable to Korea's national unity and to the safeguarding of peace in the Far East and the world.

The aggressive circles of the United States have not only undermined peace and created division on the questions of Korea and Indo-China; they are also promoting the establishment of antagonistic military blocs in the Far East, Southeast Asia and the Middle East, and creating new tension in Asia. But what the peoples of Asia want is peace and co-operation, not war and antagonism. The Delegation of the People's Republic of China proposed at the Geneva Conference that Asian countries should consult among themselves and make joint efforts to safeguard the peace and security of Asia by mutually assuming obligations. This proposition of ours does not envisage the exclusion of any country.

During the period when the sessions of the Geneva Conference at the ministerial level were in recess, I accepted, upon instructions, the invitations of the Indian and Burmese Governments to pay visits to India and Burma, and I had successive talks in India with Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and in Burma with Prime Minister U Nu. A Chinese-Indian Joint Statement was issued on June 28, 1954 and a Chinese-Burmese Joint Statement on June 29, 1954. In these two joint statements, the three governments concerned agreed to base and guide their relations between China and India and between China and Burma on the five fundamental principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-

interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. We are of the opinion that these five principles concerning peaceful coexistence should likewise be applied to relations between other nations and to international relations generally. When I discussed the question of restoring peace in Indo-China with President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam at our meeting on the Sino-Viet-Nameese border, President Ho expressed the view that these five principles are fully applicable to the consolidation and development of friendly relations between Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia. We believe that if these five principles win support from more countries, even the fears and apprehensions prevailing between nations which have been antagonistic to each other would give place to a sense of security and mutual confidence; and in that case it would be possible to establish more and wider areas of peace in Asia, and to prevent these areas from being reduced to hotbeds of war and the organization of antagonistic military blocs by the aggressive circles of the United States. In line with this policy, the Central People's Government will make unremitting efforts for the establishment of collective peace in Asia.

The Chinese people are as concerned about peace in Europe as about peace in Asia. Following the Geneva Conference, the Delegation of the People's Republic of China visited the German Democratic Republic. The Premiers of China and Germany, on July 25, 1954, issued a communique on their talks. Both sides agreed that the rearming of West Germany and

Japan by the United States is not designed to build up the power of Germany and Japan to defend themselves, but to threaten peace in Europe and Asia. Consequently, the struggle against the rearming of West Germany and Japan has become a common task for all peace-loving peoples. With regard to the situation in Europe, the peaceful unification of Germany is of vital importance. We firmly oppose the reactionary U.S. policy of reviving German militarism and perpetuating the division of Germany, and we wholeheartedly support the great struggle of the whole German people for the peaceful unification of their country.

In order to safeguard peace in Europe and create conditions favourable to the peaceful settlement of the German question, the Government of the Soviet Union proposed on July 24, 1954 the convening of a conference of European countries to discuss the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe. Again on August 4, the Soviet Government proposed that the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, France, the United Kingdom and the United States of America meet in August-September of this year for consultations on the question of convening a conference of European countries and on the German question. The Government of the People's Republic of China fully supports these two proposals of the Soviet Government. The policy of aggression pursued by the bellicose circles of the United States to create antagonistic military blocs in Europe, is wholly against the interests of European collective security. It is our hope that the peoples of Europe, after suffering the horrors

of two world wars, will be able to live in peace. Once a system of collective security in Europe is established, it will help to safeguard not only the peace of Europe but also the peace of Asia and the world.

After visiting the German Democratic Republic, the Delegation of the People's Republic of China visited the People's Republic of Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of Mongolia. In the course of our visit to these four brother countries, we acquired a keen appreciation of the growing strength and mighty solidarity of all the fraternal countries headed by the Soviet Union. We saw with our own eyes that the peoples of these countries are building up their homelands and strengthening the forces for world peace with incomparable enthusiasm and selfless labour. It is our conviction that with the ever-growing might and prosperity of all the brother countries headed by the Soviet Union, with their solidarity and with the concerted efforts of all peace-loving nations and peoples of the world, all acts of aggression and threats of war can certainly be defeated.

IV

As I have stated, the aggressive circles of the United States have always been hostile to the People's Republic of China. They have continually attempted to intervene militarily in China and threaten us with war from three fronts: Taiwan, Korea and Indo-China. Now the Korean armistice and the restoration of peace in Indo-China have gradually reduced tension in Asia, and, precisely because of this the aggressive circles of

the United States, to create new tension, seek to extend armed intervention by more intensive use of the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang, hiding in Taiwan, to wage a war of harassment and destruction against our mainland and coastal areas.

Chiang Kai-shek, the public enemy of the Chinese people, has entrenched himself with his traitorous group in Taiwan; oppressing and exploiting our compatriots in Taiwan; conspiring with the United States aggressors; and engaging in shameless acts of national betrayal. Directed and assisted by the United States aggressors, the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors has been carrying on an increasingly reckless war of harassment and destruction against our southeast coastal areas and islands, slaughtering our fellow countrymen, robbing the fishermen along the coast and sending special agents by parachute and other means to carry out sinister activities on our mainland. This gang of traitors defrauds and victimizes overseas Chinese, pillages their property and lures their youth to serve as its cannon-fodder. In true pirate fashion, this traitor group loots and holds up ships of various countries trading with our country. Shielded by United States naval and air forces and relying on the training given by the United States "Military Assistance Advisory Group," it continues to reorganize its armed forces and boast of preparations to attack the mainland, wildly ambitious to restore its criminal fascist rule and convert all China into a United States colony.

Since occupying Taiwan, the United States Government has seized military, political and economic

control of Taiwan and turned it into a United States colony and military base for attacking our country. The United States Government forcibly keeps the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek traitor group in the United Nations to pose as representatives of China. Recently, negotiations for the conclusion of a so-called bilateral mutual security treaty between the aggressive circles of the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors have been held simultaneously in Washington and Taipeh. Meanwhile, the aggressive circles of the United States are attempting to whip together a so-called Northeast Asia Defence Alliance composed of Japanese reactionaries, the Syngman Rhee clique and the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang. The aggressive circles of the United States have even sent their own naval and air forces to make a continuous show of force and carry on provocations along our borders, and to give support to the blockade of our coast by the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang. On July 26 this year, United States military aircraft brazenly attacked our patrol aircraft over Hainan Island, Chinese territory, and shot down two of them. All this shows that, though they have sustained repeated defeats, the aggressive circles of the United States do not hesitate to resort to desperate measures sowing perpetual enmity with the 600 million people of our country. Clearly, these activities are extremely grave provocations against the Chinese people as well as other peace-loving peoples of Asia and the world.

The Government of the People's Republic of China once again declares: Taiwan is inviolable Chinese territory, its occupation by the United States absolutely

cannot be tolerated, and it is equally intolerable to have Taiwan placed under United Nations trusteeship. The liberation of Taiwan is an exercise of China's sovereignty and China's own internal affair; we will brook no foreign interference. Any treaties concluded between the United States Government and the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang entrenched in Taiwan are illegal and void. If any foreign aggressors dare try to hinder the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan, if they dare to infringe upon our sovereignty and violate our territorial integrity, if they dare to interfere in our internal affairs, they must take all the grave consequences of such acts of aggression upon themselves.

In their relations with the three states of Indo-China, the nations participating in the Geneva Conference have undertaken to respect the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of these states, and to refrain from any interference in their internal affairs. We hold that these principles should apply to the relations among all nations. China has no intention of encroaching on the territory of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any encroachment on her own territory by other nations. China has no intention of infringing the sovereignty of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any infringement of her own sovereignty by other nations. China has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any interference in China's internal affairs by other nations. China will never menace the security of other nations, and will under

no circumstances tolerate any menace to China's security by other nations.

It should be pointed out that in continuing their occupation of Taiwan, their protection of the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang and their armed intervention, the aggressive circles of the United States are not only infringing our territorial integrity and sovereignty and interfering in our internal affairs; they are also increasing the threat of war in the Far East and heightening international tension, thus preventing China and the other countries concerned from enjoying the benefits of peace. It was precisely in these circumstances, with the aggressive circles of the United States creating tension in the Far East and shielding the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang in its war against our coastal areas and islands, that there occurred recently the unfortunate incident of the shooting down, by mistake, of a British civil aircraft. We sympathize with the victims in this unfortunate incident. At the same time, we deem it all the more essential to oppose the provocations of the United States, its armed intervention and threats of war in the Far East, because the U.S. policy of aggression and war is the source of all calamities and misfortunes.

It should be pointed out that the vocation of the Chiang Kai-shek clique of national betrayal is to provoke a world war. This handful of traitors is not only the public enemy of the Chinese people, but also of all peace-loving peoples of Asia and the world. In order that international tension may be further eased, in order that the peace secured through the armistice in Indo-China may be consolidated and extended, in

order that the five principles of peaceful coexistence may be carried through, it is imperative that the People's Republic of China liberate Taiwan and do away with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang.

The struggle of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan is a struggle in defence of world peace.

The liberation of Taiwan is a glorious historic mission of the Chinese people. Only by liberating Taiwan from the rule of the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors, only by fulfilling this glorious task, will we achieve complete unification of our great motherland, win complete victory in the great task of liberating the Chinese people, will we better safeguard the peace and security of Asia and the world.

The people of China and the People's Liberation Army must redouble their efforts in every field, heighten their vigilance, avoid the pitfall of conceit, overcome all difficulties, and struggle to the end to fulfil the glorious task of liberating Taiwan and defending world peace!

**JOINT DECLARATION OF ALL DEMOCRATIC
PARTIES AND PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATIONS OF
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA CONCERN-
ING THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN**

August 22, 1954

We solemnly proclaim to the whole world: Taiwan is China's territory. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan.

Sixty years ago, Japanese imperialism forcibly occupied Taiwan. The people of China waged a prolonged struggle and, in the end, as a result of victory in the great War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, brought our fellow countrymen in Taiwan back into the embrace of the motherland on October 25, 1945. The Chinese people cannot tolerate the usurpation of control over Taiwan by the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang; they cannot tolerate the occupation of Taiwan by the aggressive cliques of the United States.

The Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang, shielded by the United States Government, fled to Taiwan and turned it into a den of traitors. This gang of traitors has, in the course of the past few years, sold out the abundant products and natural resources of Taiwan to the United States Government in return for military aid. It has tried to crush the patriotic movement in Taiwan, massacred our patriotic countrymen, pillaged the people's wealth, compelled the youth of Taiwan to

serve as cannon-fodder, and plunged our compatriots there into a hell of misery and privation. This gang of traitors is deceiving and persecuting the overseas Chinese, plundering their property and suborning their youth into joining its bandit forces. Relying on the protection of United States naval and air forces, this gang of traitors has made attacks on the off-shore islands of the motherland, and bombed its coastal cities. It has attacked and plundered merchant vessels belonging to or trading with the motherland. It has dispatched secret agents to carry out sabotage. It has robbed and murdered fishermen; and has carried on a continuous war of harassment and destruction against the motherland. This gang of traitors has recently engaged in further machinations to conclude a so-called bilateral mutual security treaty with the United States Government and to establish a military alliance with it for the purpose of trying to launch an offensive against our mainland in co-ordination with United States armed forces and provoking a world war which would plunge mankind into unprecedented calamity. This gang of traitors is the public enemy not only of the Chinese people but of all the peoples of Asia and the world.

It is well-known that the aggressive circles of the United States have always been hostile to the People's Republic of China. In June 1950, the United States Government unleashed its war of aggression against Korea, intensified its intervention in the Indo-China war, and at the same time dispatched the U.S. Seventh Fleet to invade the Taiwan Straits and occupy the Chinese territory of Taiwan. By so doing the

United States Government violated the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations which recognized Taiwan as Chinese territory, and to which it was itself a signatory.

The Korean war has now ended, peace has been restored to Indo-China, and international tension is being gradually reduced. But the aggressive circles of the United States, unwilling to accept their defeat, are taking further steps in support of the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors, seeking to extend armed intervention and the threat of war against our country. They are now in the midst of schemes for signing a "bilateral mutual security treaty" with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang. They are trying to whip together a so-called Northeast Asia Defence Alliance embracing the reactionary forces in Japan, the Syngman Rhee clique and the Chiang Kai-shek group. They are making every effort to bring round Britain and France, and to coerce certain countries in the Western Pacific and Southeast Asia into organizing a "Southeast Asia Treaty Organization." Without a doubt the People's Republic of China is the chief target of this series of sinister moves by the aggressive circles of the United States.

We Chinese are a peace-loving people. The People's Republic of China pursues a consistent policy of peace. Premier and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai said in his Report on Foreign Affairs on August 11, 1954:

China has no intention of encroaching on the territory of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any encroachment on her own territory by other nations. China has no intention of infringing the sovereignty of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any

infringement of her own sovereignty by other nations. China has no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any interference in China's internal affairs by other nations. China will never menace the security of other nations, and will under no circumstances tolerate any menace to China's security by other nations.

This represents the common will of the 600 million people of China.

To safeguard the security and territorial integrity of our motherland and the peace of Asia and the world, the Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. Taiwan is an inseparable part of Chinese territory. Its occupation by the United States cannot be tolerated; and it would be equally intolerable to have it placed under United Nations trusteeship. To liberate Taiwan and to eliminate the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang is an exercise of China's sovereignty. It is China's own internal affair, in which we will brook no interference by any foreign countries. If any foreign aggressors dare to try to prevent the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan, they thereby interfere in China's internal affairs, infringe on China's sovereignty and violate her territorial integrity; and must therefore take upon themselves all the grave consequences of such aggressive action.

To liberate Taiwan and eliminate the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors is the sacred, historic task of the Chinese people. Only by freeing Taiwan from the tyrannical rule of the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang can we, the Chinese people, accomplish the complete unification of our great motherland, achieve total

victory in the mighty cause of our liberation, and preserve the peace of Asia and the rest of the world. We warmly support the great call of the Central People's Government to liberate Taiwan and eliminate the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang. We pledge ourselves to redouble our efforts, to strengthen our work in every field so as to accomplish this historic task.

To liberate Taiwan, the people of the whole nation must strengthen their bonds of unity, heighten their vigilance, increase production, practise economy, raise labour productivity and struggle for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the plan of national construction!

To liberate Taiwan, all commanders and fighters of the ground, naval and air forces of the People's Liberation Army must intensify their political and military training, master modern military technique, show their revolutionary heroism, and strive to win every battle until the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang is wiped out!

To liberate Taiwan, all our fellow countrymen, especially those in the coastal areas and islands of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces who are at the forefront of the struggle, must keep ever stricter guard, eliminate secret agents, and give every support to the People's Liberation Army in the struggle against the enemy!

To liberate Taiwan, our compatriots on Taiwan itself must live up to their glorious revolutionary tradition, show their patriotism, close their ranks, build up reserves of strength, and prepare for the coming of the People's Liberation Army!

The Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang is doomed to extinction. But for all those who ran away to Taiwan together with the traitor Chiang there is a way out. The policy of our Central People's Government is lenient. With the exception of Chiang Kai-shek himself, any one of them may renounce his evil past, come over to the side of right, and return to the mainland to rejoin his family. Any one of them may qualify for lenient treatment and by performing meritorious service redeem his crimes and obliterate his past record.

The Chinese people's struggle to liberate Taiwan is a struggle in defence of world peace. Justice is on our side.

The sympathy and support of the world are with us. We Chinese people will assuredly overcome all difficulties and achieve final victory in the struggle for the liberation of Taiwan. .

People of all China! Unite more closely and struggle to liberate Taiwan, oppose American intervention, safeguard the security of our motherland and defend world peace!

The National Committee of the Chinese
People's Political Consultative Conference

The Communist Party of China

The Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese
Kuomintang

The Democratic League of China

The Democratic National Construction Asso-
ciation of China

Non-party democrats of the Chinese People's
Political Consultative Conference

The China Association for the Promotion of
Democracy

The Chinese Peasants and Workers Demo-
cratic Party

The China Chih Kung Tang

The Chiu San Society

The Taiwan Democratic Self-Government
League

The New Democratic Youth League of China

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions

The All-China Democratic Women's Federa-
tion

The All-China Federation of Democratic
Youth

The All-China Students Federation

The All-China Federation of Writers and
Artists

The China Federation of Scientific Societies

The All-China Federation of Industry and
Commerce

EXCERPTS FROM PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT DELIVERED TO THE FIRST NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AT ITS FIRST SESSION

September 23, 1954

Everyone can see that all our efforts are directed towards building our country into a prosperous and happy socialist industrial state. We are going ahead with our peaceful work and we want a peaceful environment and a peaceful world. This basic fact determines the peaceful policy of our country in foreign affairs.

As far back as October 1, 1949, the day the People's Republic of China was founded, Chairman Mao Tse-tung formally proclaimed to the whole world: "This Government is willing to establish diplomatic relations with any foreign government which is willing to observe the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty." In pursuance of this policy, our country has established or is establishing diplomatic relations with twenty-five countries and, in addition, maintains business relations with some other countries.

Our country has concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union,

that great bulwark of peace. In a spirit of friendship and mutual assistance, the Soviet Union has returned to our country without claiming compensation the Chinese Changchun Railway which was formerly jointly operated by China and the Soviet Union, and the enterprises and other properties which the Soviet Union took over from the Japanese in Northeast China. To help the economic construction of our country, the Soviet Union has extended to us great material, financial, scientific and technical assistance, and, we must note especially, systematic economic and technical assistance in the construction of one hundred and forty-one enterprises. This sincere co-operation between China and the Soviet Union lends greater and greater strength to the safeguarding of peace in the Far East and throughout the world. We have written this friendship into the Preamble to our Constitution, a fact showing that it is lasting and unbreakable.

We are daily fostering and consolidating the fraternal friendship and political, economic and cultural co-operation between our country and the Polish People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Republic, the People's Republic of Hungary, the Rumanian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the People's Republic of Albania, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Mongolia, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. The communique of July 25, 1954 on the talks between the Premiers of our country and the German Democratic Republic expresses the mutual concern and support of the Chinese and German peoples for the cause of peace.

The Chinese people and the people of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have indissolubly cemented their friendship in the joint struggle against American aggression and in defence of peace in the Far East. The Sino-Korean Agreement on Economic and Cultural Co-operation of November 23, 1953 marks the growth of mutual help between the two countries.

The people of our country have always concerned themselves with the heroic struggle waged by the people of Viet-Nam and the peoples of the other states of Indo-China against colonial war and for national independence. With the agreements on restoring peace in Indo-China, a great victory in this struggle has now been won. Henceforth, in striving for the thorough implementation of these agreements and in the rehabilitation of her national economy, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam will have the full support of the Chinese people.

In the past five years, our country has closely united with our great ally, the Soviet Union, and with the People's Democracies in a joint struggle to defend world peace against wars of aggression. Facts have proved that the unity and co-operation between the brother countries headed by the Soviet Union have brought about changes in the international situation favourable to the forces of peace and unfavourable to those of aggression. Our country will continue to exert the greatest effort to consolidate and extend this unity and co-operation, and so strengthen the forces defending world peace.

The People's Republic of China has always attached importance to peaceful co-operation with the South-east Asian countries and other neighbouring states, and to the efforts made in the cause of peace by that large Asian country, India. In June 1954, the Chinese and Indian Premiers and the Chinese and Burmese Premiers held separate talks and unanimously affirmed in their respective joint statements that the five principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence should be the basic principles guiding relations between China and India and between China and Burma. We believe that the friendly relations between our country and the Republic of Indonesia can also be extended on the basis of these fundamental principles. We also hold that the same five principles for peaceful coexistence should apply likewise to relations between our country and Ceylon, Pakistan and other Asian countries, as well as to international relations in general.

Contacts are being made with a view to establishing normal relations between China and Afghanistan as well as between China and Israel. Our country is also ready to establish normal relations with Nepal.

The Geneva Conference agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China have guaranteed the independence of Laos and Cambodia, and at the same time, Laos and Cambodia have committed themselves in the agreements not to take part in any military

alliance. This makes it possible for our country to establish normal relations with these two kingdoms.

Our country hopes to promote business relations with Middle and Near Eastern and African countries so as to improve mutual contacts and understanding and create favourable conditions for the establishment of normal relations.

The Chinese people deeply sympathize with the plight of the Japanese people whose country is under military occupation by the United States. To prevent the revival of Japanese militarism so that the Japanese people may be preserved from involvement in new military adventures, we hope that Japan can rid herself of foreign control and become an independent, democratic and peace-loving country. We hold that to establish normal relations and promote trade between the two countries is the common desire of the Chinese and Japanese people and conforms with the interests of peace in the Far East and Asia.

In the past few years our country has established normal relations with some Western countries, and we are now establishing normal relations with others. Our relations with Finland, Sweden, Switzerland and Denmark are normal. But there are also certain Western countries which have taken a position incompatible with their recognition of the People's Republic of China. This has caused difficulties in the establishment of normal relations between those countries and China.

China's relations with Britain improved during the Geneva Conference owing to the efforts of the delegations of both countries. But the point at present is

that Britain should, like our country, continue to make efforts to promote peaceful co-operation between China and Britain instead of creating new obstacles. Recently, following the United States, Britain participated in the Southeast Asia military alliance, and also followed the United States in preventing our country from attaining her proper status and rights in the United Nations. Are these not new obstacles to improvement of Sino-British relations?

Negotiations are proceeding for the improvement of relations between China and Norway and between China and the Netherlands.

The Government of the People's Republic of China is willing to establish peaceful and co-operative relations with any country in Europe, South and North America, and Australasia, provided that it has the same desire and sincerity.

The People's Republic of China attaches importance to broadening economic and cultural contacts between nations, for this is extremely important in improving the economic conditions of the nations, in enhancing mutual understanding and promoting international co-operation. In the past five years, China's foreign trade has grown every year. The volume of her trade with Western countries grew considerably in 1950. But this trade was later subjected to artificial restrictions because the United States coerced other Western countries into carrying out a policy of embargo and discrimination against China and instructed the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek gang to carry out piratical activities off Southeast China. Facts have shown that pursuit of this policy of embargo and discrimination

produced a result exactly contrary to what its initiators desired. For it is not China which has been most hurt by the embargo, but the countries carrying out this United States policy. It is therefore entirely understandable why great numbers of farsighted statesmen and people in industrial and commercial circles in all countries are now opposed to the United States policy of embargo and discrimination.

There are some twelve million Chinese residing outside our borders. They have for years lived amicably with the people of the countries in which they are domiciled and have made certain contributions to local economic development and prosperity. The overseas Chinese warmly love their homeland. Generally they do not take part in the political activities of the countries in which they live. For the past few years their life in countries which are unfriendly to China has been very difficult. We hope these countries will not discriminate against overseas Chinese and will respect their proper rights and interests. For our part, we are willing to urge overseas Chinese to respect the laws of the governments and the social customs of the countries in which they live. It is worth pointing out that the question of the nationality of overseas Chinese is one which the reactionary governments of China in the past never tried to solve. This placed overseas Chinese in a difficult situation and often led to discord between China and the countries concerned. To improve this situation, we are prepared to settle this question, starting with the Southeast Asian countries which have established diplomatic relations with us.

As mentioned above, the people and government of the People's Republic of China have made considerable efforts during the past five years to establish diplomatic relations and extend economic and cultural contacts with various nations in order to defend world peace and promote international co-operation. During the same period, however, the aggressive bloc of nations headed by the United States has been consistently hostile to our country; disregarding the opposition of world public opinion and of the governments of many countries, it has up to now persisted in depriving our country, arbitrarily and unreasonably, of its legal status and rights in the United Nations.

In June 1950, the United States Government launched a war of aggression against Korea and at the same time occupied China's province of Taiwan, leaving the Chinese people no alternative but to launch their great movement to resist American aggression and aid Korea. In July 1953, the victorious struggle waged by the Chinese People's Volunteers and the Korean People's Army compelled the United States to accept an armistice. Now more than a year has elapsed and the United States Government still refuses to settle the Korean question peacefully.

Because of the truculent policy of sabotage pursued by the United States Government and the Syngman Rhee clique, the Geneva Conference failed to reach agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. But the Korean question is not off the agenda. The peace-loving countries and peoples of the world will not permit the Korean question to remain long unsettled. We are of the opinion that,

following the example of the settlement of the Indo-China question at the Geneva Conference, a conference with the participation of neutral Asian nations should be called to discuss once again the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, so as to achieve a speedy settlement of the question of peacefully unifying Korea in line with the principles of respecting the national rights of the Korean people and contributing to the defence of peace in Asia and the world.

The Geneva Conference, overcoming the obstruction put in its way by the United States Government, finally reached agreement on the question of restoring peace in Indo-China. The agreements reached at the Geneva Conference and the recent rejection of the "European Defence Community" treaty by the French National Assembly were victories for the forces of peace and defeats for the forces of war. This has brought about a further easing of international tension.

However, the United States and some Western nations have not given up their war policies. They unreasonably put forward pre-conditions on the European question, attempting to reject the proposals of the Soviet Union concerning the German question and the establishment of a European collective security system. Moreover, the United States and Britain are actively manoeuvring to drag West Germany into the military bloc of Western countries under another label. In Asia, the United States recently pulled together a conference of eight countries in Manila which concluded a so-called Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty. This treaty shows that the purpose

of the United States is to destroy the Geneva Conference agreements, organize a military alliance to split Asia, show its hostility to the People's Republic of China, interfere in the internal affairs of the Asian countries and create new tension. In my report on foreign affairs made on August 11, 1954 to the Central People's Government Council, I indicated to all states concerned that the Chinese Government firmly opposes the formation of the so-called Southeast Asia Treaty Organization by the United States aggressive group.

It should be pointed out that, with the exception of the three Asian countries which have concluded military aid agreements with the United States, none of the countries taking part in the so-called Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty are located in Asia. Obviously what has been established through this treaty is nothing but a military alliance of colonial powers. This military alliance not only supports the United States policy of making China the main object of hostility in the Far East, but also facilitates United States aggression against Asian countries from various directions. With this treaty, on the pretext of non-existent "communist aggression," the United States can create division in Asia by spreading fears and apprehensions and instigating some Asian countries to oppose others. With this treaty, on the pretext of preventing and countering what it calls "subversive activities," the United States can interfere at will in the internal affairs of Southeast Asian countries and suppress the national liberation movements in Asia. With this treaty, using the provisions for "economic measures," the United States can strip Southeast Asia

of strategic materials, enslave the peoples there and build up its own colonial rule. With this treaty, on the pretext that the region is "threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area," the United States can freely name any area as coming under its "protection," so as to extend its armed intervention to other parts of Asia. In fact, not only is the alleged "danger of aggression" against Thailand, the Philippines and other countries of Southeast Asia by China a sheer fabrication, but the view that normal diplomatic relations cannot be established between China and Thailand and between China and the Philippines is groundless. They are only pretexts used by the governments of Thailand and the Philippines to justify their action in serving the aggressive forces of the United States. From all this, it can be seen that through the military alliance formed under this treaty the colonialists are attempting to dictate the destiny of Asian countries and to trample upon the Asian peoples' right to self-determination. Such a treaty runs counter to the purpose and principles of the United Nations Charter. The chief countries of Southeast Asia, such as India, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon, treasuring their freedom and independence, all refused to take part in the Manila Conference. The Government of the People's Republic of China fully supports the just stand taken by these four countries and firmly opposes this military alliance which aims at splitting Southeast Asia.

In an attempt to prevent the carrying out of the Geneva agreements concerning Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam, the states which signed the "Southeast Asia

Collective Defence Treaty" arbitrarily included Cambodia, Laos and the southern part of Viet-Nam in the area under their "protection." This attempt is fundamentally at variance with the commitments regarding Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam assumed by the states that participated in the Geneva Conference. It must be pointed out that all the countries which took part in the Geneva Conference on the restoration of peace in Indo-China are under obligation to guarantee strict implementation of the Geneva agreements. But soon after the conclusion of the agreements, the United States organized a military alliance aimed at splitting Southeast Asia and endangering collective peace. That is an open infringement of the Geneva agreements.

On September 14, 1954, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union issued a statement on the question of the "Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty," pointing out that the states participating in this military alliance should bear the entire responsibility for their actions, which are in flagrant contradiction to the tasks of strengthening peace. This view is identical with that of the Chinese Government.

The policy of the colonial powers, to dictate the destiny of Asian countries, is incompatible with the independence and sovereignty of the Asian countries, and conflicts with the spirit of the Geneva agreements. The Asian countries need peace and co-operation, not war and hostility. The Asian countries should consult together and take every effective measure to promote collective co-operation, and should jointly strive to defend collective peace and security

in Asia. This proposal of ours does not exclude any country outside Asia.

The American aggressive group, which is pursuing a war policy, has not only organized the Southeast Asia war bloc to intensify war preparations but is also trying hard to expand the war now in progress. It has tried to conduct armed intervention against China and menace Asia from three fronts—Taiwan, Korea and Indo-China. Now that the flames of war in Korea and Indo-China have been successively put out, the United States aggressive group is making more intensive use of the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek gang on Taiwan to enlarge the war of harassment and destruction against China's mainland and sea coast in an attempt to step up their intervention against China and their menace to Asia.

Directed and assisted by the United States aggressive group, the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek gang is using Taiwan as its base to conduct increasingly desperate attacks against our coastal islands, bomb our coastal cities, rob our fishermen in the coastal areas, plunder and seize our merchant ships and the vessels of countries trading with China, and dispatch special agents to infiltrate the mainland for subversive activities. This traitorous gang is defrauding and victimizing the overseas Chinese, looting their property and tricking their sons into serving as cannon-fodder. This traitorous gang is stepping up its extortions on Taiwan and robbing the people of their wealth. It is reorganizing its military forces and clamouring to attack the mainland. It is bent upon provoking world war. That is why this gang is the

public enemy not only of the Chinese people, but also of all peace-loving peoples in Asia and the world.

The United States Seventh Fleet still continues to occupy the Taiwan Straits. Recently, the United States Government declared its intention of using the Seventh Fleet to prevent the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan. The United States aggressive group is scheming to conclude a so-called bilateral mutual security treaty with the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek gang. At the same time, it is trying to combine the reactionary forces in Japan, the Syngman Rhee clique in South Korea and the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors into a so-called Northeast Asia Defence Alliance, which it plans to link up with the "Southeast Asia Treaty Organization." This series of conspiracies of the United States aggressive group is obviously directed against the six hundred million people of China. It is a challenge to the Asian peoples and to international peace.

The Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly stated that Taiwan is China's sacred and inviolable territory and that no United States infringement or occupation will be tolerated. Our compatriots on Taiwan, including the Kaoshan people, have always been members of the great Chinese family of nationalities and their enslavement by the United States will never be tolerated. The liberation of Taiwan is China's sovereign right and internal affair and no interference by any foreign country will be tolerated. Both the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Declaration, to which the United States is a signatory, affirm that Taiwan is Chinese territory; the perfidious viola-

tion of these solemn international agreements by the United States will not be permitted. Any pact signed between the United States Government and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek gang holding on to Taiwan is illegal. In this connection it must be pointed out that all proposals to place Taiwan under United Nations trusteeship or under neutral mandate, or to "neutralize" Taiwan or to create a so-called "independent Taiwan state," are attempts to carve up China's territory, enslave the Chinese people on Taiwan and legalize United States occupation of Taiwan. None of this will be tolerated by the Chinese people.

The Chinese people must liberate Taiwan. As long as Taiwan is not liberated, China's territory is not intact, China cannot have a tranquil environment for peaceful construction, and peace in the Far East and throughout the world is not secure. On August 11, 1954, the Central People's Government Council passed a resolution urging all Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army to redouble their efforts in all fields of work and strive to liberate Taiwan and eliminate the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek gang, so as to complete our people's sacred task of liberation. On August 22, all the democratic parties and groups and people's organizations of China issued a joint declaration on the liberation of Taiwan in response to this call of the Central People's Government. This is a manifestation of the unshakable common will of the six hundred million people of China.

In order to further reduce international tension, in order to eliminate the threat of war and safeguard

world peace, we maintain that the United States fleet occupying the Taiwan Straits must be withdrawn, the legal status and rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be restored, the proposals for collective peace in place of war blocs must be realized, the plans for reviving Japanese and German militarism must be stopped, and the universal desire of the people throughout the world to reduce armaments and prohibit the use of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction must be satisfied. All this represents the common desire of the peace-loving peoples throughout the world.

Fellow Deputies! Our work of socialist construction and socialist transformation is a just cause. Our cause of liberating Taiwan, safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country and defending peace in the Far East and the whole world is also a just one. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said that a just cause is invulnerable to any enemy. Our just cause is able not only to unite the people of the whole country, but also to rally the support of all international friends.

**FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI'S TELEGRAM
TO THE NINTH UNITED NATIONS GENERAL
ASSEMBLY, CONDEMNING UNITED STATES
ARMED AGGRESSION AGAINST CHINESE TER-
RITORY OF TAIWAN**

October 10, 1954

Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General, and for transmission to Dr. Eelco van Kleffens, President of the Ninth United Nations General Assembly, United Nations, New York, U.S.A.:

In regard to the question of the armed aggression against Chinese territory of Taiwan by the United States of America, the Government of the People's Republic of China lodged a charge in this regard in its cable dated August 24, 1950 addressed to Mr. Yakov Malik, President of the United Nations Security Council. In the course of the discussion in the Security Council on the "complaint of armed aggression against Taiwan," Mr. Wu Hsiu-chuan, special representative of the Government of the People's Republic of China, stated China's case at the Council Meeting of November 28, 1950, establishing by indisputable facts the crime of the United States Government in carrying out armed aggression against Taiwan. But owing to obstruction by the United States, the Security Council failed to take effective measures in conformity with the principle of the maintenance of inter-

national peace and security as stipulated in the United Nations Charter, and as a result, the item "complaint of armed aggression against Taiwan" still remains unsettled on the agenda of the Security Council.

In an effort to safeguard international peace and security, the Government of the U.S.S.R. raised the Complaint of United States Aggression Against China at the Fifth United Nations General Assembly, on September 20, 1950. Speaking on this complaint on November 27, 1950 before the Political and Security Committee of the Fifth United Nations General Assembly, the Soviet representative, Mr. A. Y. Vyshinsky, proposed that the General Assembly should request the Security Council to take necessary steps to ensure the immediate cessation of United States aggression against China. But, again as a result of obstruction by the United States, the Fifth United Nations General Assembly failed to request the Security Council to take necessary and effective measures, thus allowing United States aggression against China to continue and develop and placing in greater jeopardy the security of the People's Republic of China and the peace of Asia and the world.

Taiwan is a part of China's territory; this is a matter of common knowledge. The Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Declaration, to both of which the United States Government is a signatory, recognize that Taiwan and the Penghu Islands (Pescadores) should be restored to China. It is a fact that Taiwan was taken over on October 25, 1945 by the Chinese Government of that time.

Since the restoration of Taiwan to China, the United States Government has repeatedly pledged itself to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, and to refrain from interfering in the situation in Taiwan by armed force. On January 5, 1950, the then President of the United States, Truman, issued a statement dealing with Taiwan, in which he said: "The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any other Chinese territory. The United States has no desire to obtain special rights or privileges or to establish military bases on Formosa at this time. Nor does it have any intention of utilizing its armed forces to interfere in the present situation. The U.S. Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China. Similarly, the U.S. Government will not provide military aid or advice to Chinese forces on Formosa." On February 9, 1950 the United States Department of State submitted a document on Taiwan to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the United States House of Representatives, in which the United States Government stated: "For the United States Government, at this date, to seek to establish a non-Chinese administration on Formosa, either through SCAP or a United Nations or Far Eastern Commission-sponsored plebiscite, would be almost universally interpreted in mainland China and widely interpreted throughout Asia as an attempt by this Government to separate Formosa from China in violation of its pledges and contrary to its long-standing policy of respecting the territorial integrity of China." These two quotations furnish adequate proof that the

United States Government long ago admitted that to refrain from interfering in the Taiwan situation with armed forces is the unalterable obligation of the United States, any other country or any international organization, and that to repudiate this obligation is to interfere in China's internal affairs and violate her territorial integrity, as well as to repudiate the underlying principles of the United Nations.

But the United States Government has honoured neither its own pledges nor the obligations imposed upon it by international agreements. When the United States Government realized that there was not the remotest chance of the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors again enslaving the Chinese people, it began to resort to armed intervention and threats of war against China mainly from three directions—Taiwan, Korea and Indo-China. On June 27, 1950 the then President of the United States, Truman, announced in a statement that United States armed forces were being dispatched to launch aggression against Korea and simultaneously against Chinese territory in Taiwan, and that United States intervention in the Indo-China war was being intensified. Since then the United States Government has stepped up every type of armed aggression against Taiwan. This has been particularly so since the time when the United States ruling clique, which is afraid of peace, grew acutely uneasy over the gradual relaxation of international tension following the termination of the Korean war and the restoration of peace in Indo-China. Accordingly, it has made greater use of the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors, hiding in Taiwan, to carry on a war

of harassment and destruction against China's mainland and coastal areas, in an attempt to extend its aggression against China and create new tensions in Asia.

On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, I am authorized to request the Ninth United Nations General Assembly to give its most serious attention to the following facts relevant to the armed aggression against Chinese territory of Taiwan by the United States Government:

(1) Since the United States Seventh Fleet intruded into the Taiwan Straits in June 1950, the Chinese province of Taiwan has fallen under the direct military control of the United States. The United States fleet has been carrying on so-called patrolling and reconnoitring operations in China's off-shore waters from Swatow in Kwangtung Province in the south to Tsingtao in Shantung Province in the north; and has occupied as naval bases the ports of Kao-hsiung and Keelung in Taiwan and Makung in the Penghu Islands. In August 1950 the 13th Air Force under the United States Far East Air Force Command invaded Taiwan and established a so-called Advanced Command Headquarters there. For more than four years, the 13th and 20th Air Forces under the United States Far East Air Force Command have been continuously sending their aircraft on missions to Taiwan, and have occupied Tainan, Taoyuan, Hsin-chu, Chiayi, Sungshan and Taichung in Taiwan, and Makung Port in the Penghu Islands, as their air bases. It can thus be seen that the United States has not only occupied the Chinese territory of Taiwan,

but has turned Taiwan into a stronghold for the extended aggression it is preparing against the People's Republic of China.

(2) For the purpose of extending its aggression against China, the United States Government has continuously accelerated its training of the forces of the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang. The "Military Assistance Advisory Group" sent to Taiwan by the United States Government has been ceaselessly reorganizing, equipping and training its ground, sea and air forces. All its weapons, including rifles, artillery, ammunition, armoured vehicles, aircraft and naval vessels, are supplied by the United States Government. After the United States failed in its scheme to prevent an armistice in Indo-China, the "Military Assistance Advisory Group," in line with the United States Government's policy of creating new tension, adopted a new guiding principle for the training of the forces of the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang: the intensification of training for offensive operations with special emphasis on amphibious operations. Recent press reports indicate that the United States Government is preparing, within the next two or three months, a "United States Joint Military Headquarters" in Taiwan in which the United States "Military Assistance Advisory Group" in Taiwan is to be included, for the purpose of exercising direct control over the forces of the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang.

(3) To utilize the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang in extending its aggression against China, the United States Government has given it huge sums of money

in military and economic aid. According to available data, from July 1950 to June 1954, such aid totalled more than 1,400 million U.S. dollars, constituting the main source of war funds for Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors.

(4) Instigated and supported by the United States Government, the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors has carried on a war of harassment and destruction against the mainland and coastal areas of China. For years, it has been launching incessant sneak attacks against the coastal areas and islands of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces, bombed cities along the coast, slaughtered the people and dispatched sea-borne and air-borne secret agents to the mainland for disruptive activities. Recently, in carrying out the United States policy of extending aggression against China, this gang of traitors has not only intensified such disruptive activities but also set up a clamour for counter-attacks on the mainland, in the vain hope of converting the whole of China into a colony of the United States.

(5) In an attempt to blockade the People's Republic of China and obstruct its trade with other countries, the United States Government has consistently helped the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors to seize and detain Chinese vessels and foreign vessels trading with China. During the past few years, according to incomplete statistics, more than 470 Chinese vessels were victimized, as well as 67 foreign ships under various flags including those of the Soviet Union, Poland, Britain, Denmark, Norway, Italy, the Netherlands, Panama, Greece and West Germany—

the largest number being British. Some of these ships were forcibly detained, some sunk, and others attacked or plundered. Such piratical acts of the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang, under the direction of the United States Government, are outrageous violations of the principle of freedom of navigation on the high seas.

(6) In support of the war activities of the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors, the United States Government has directly dispatched its own military aircraft to intrude into China's territorial air, to make demonstrations of force and carry out provocations, inflicting great losses in life and property on the Chinese people. The United States Government has also sent military aircraft to intrude into China's territorial air for purposes of strategic reconnaissance and the parachuting of spies on missions of disruption. On July 26, 1954, United States military aircraft went so far as to shoot down two Chinese aircraft over China's Hainan Island. Recently, the United States Government declared in undisguised terms that it would intervene with armed forces to prevent the Chinese people from accomplishing their righteous task of liberating Taiwan. All this proves that the United States Government has the deliberate intention of extending its armed intervention against China.

(7) It should further be pointed out that, since the Korean armistice and the restoration of peace in Indo-China, the United States Government, unwilling to reconcile itself to the failure of its aggressive policy in Asia, has adopted measures to enlarge the scope

of its aggression. In September 1954 the United States Government brought together eight countries to a conference in Manila, at which it whipped up a Southeast Asia military bloc directed principally against the People's Republic of China. The United States Government is, moreover, attempting to line up reactionary forces in Japan, the Syngman Rhee gang, and the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang in a so-called Northeast Asia Defence Alliance. At the same time, the United States Government is conducting negotiations with the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors, actively pushing forward its scheme to conclude a so-called bilateral mutual security treaty. It is clear that the United States Government, in adopting this series of measures, is endeavouring to complete the encirclement of the People's Republic of China using Taiwan as a pivot, and to embark on new military adventures.

The above facts prove conclusively that, in continuing its occupation of Taiwan, shielding the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors and trying to prevent the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan, the United States Government is not only encroaching upon China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, interfering in China's internal affairs and preparing to extend its aggression against China, but is also heightening the threat of war in the Far East and aggravating the international situation. This policy of aggression and war on the part of the United States Government and the continued United States obstruction of the restoration of the legitimate status and rights of the People's Republic of China in the United

Nations are totally incompatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter.

Taiwan is an inseparable part of China's sacred territory. Its occupation by the United States will never be permitted; nor will any attempt to separate it from China in the name of "neutralization" or "United Nations trusteeship." To liberate Taiwan is an internal affair of China in which no foreign intervention will be tolerated. In liberating Taiwan, the Chinese people will be safeguarding not only the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of China, but also the peace and security of Asia and the world. The righteous act of the Chinese people in liberating Taiwan is in full accord with the spirit of the United Nations Charter which proclaims respect for the rights of peoples; any interference with the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people is a violation of Article 2 of the United Nations Charter — which provides that the United Nations and its members shall refrain from infringing the territorial integrity or political independence of any member or other state, and shall not intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state.

In the interest of safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, of safeguarding international peace and security, and of preserving the sanctity of the United Nations Charter, I once again, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, place before the Ninth United Nations General Assembly the charge of United States armed aggression against the Chinese territory of Taiwan.

The Government of the People's Republic of China holds that the Ninth United Nations General Assembly must shoulder its inescapable responsibility to urge the Security Council to stop the aggressive action of the United States Government in interfering with the Chinese people's liberation of Taiwan, and to call upon the United States Government to completely withdraw all United States armed forces and military personnel from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and other islands which belong to China.

Mr. Secretary-General, I request that you circulate the full text of this cable of accusation to all the delegations to the United Nations General Assembly with the exception of the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang representatives.

Chou En-lai

**Minister for Foreign Affairs of the
People's Republic of China**

FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI'S STATE- MENT ON U.S.-CHIANG KAI-SHEK "MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY"

December 8, 1954

On December 2, 1954 the United States Government, disregarding the repeated protests and warnings of the Chinese people, concluded a so-called Mutual Security Treaty with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang fugitive on Taiwan. The United States Government is trying to use this treaty to legalize its armed seizure of Chinese territory of Taiwan, and make Taiwan a base for further aggression against China and the preparation for a new war. This act is a grave warlike provocation against the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people.

On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby declare: Taiwan is China's territory, and Chiang Kai-shek is the public enemy of the Chinese people. To liberate Taiwan and liquidate the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors is entirely within the purview of China's sovereignty and a purely internal affair of China, and no interference by any foreign country will be tolerated. Threats of war cannot shake the determination of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan but can only heighten their indignation. The Chiang Kai-shek clique of national betrayal has no authority whatsoever to conclude any

treaty with any country. The "Mutual Security Treaty" concluded between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek has no legal basis whatsoever and is null and void. This treaty is a betrayal of China's sovereign and territorial rights and the Chinese people oppose it resolutely. If the United States Government does not withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Taiwan Straits, and persists in interfering in China's internal affairs, it must take all the grave consequences upon itself.

The "Mutual Security Treaty" which the United States Government has entered into with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang is, in every sense, a treaty of war and aggression. United States imperialism is hostile to the Chinese people. Refusing to reconcile itself to the defeat of its imperialist policy in China, the United States Government occupied Taiwan by armed force in June 1950 at the same time as it launched its war of aggression in Korea. Since then it has been shielding the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang and directing it in its uninterrupted war of harassment and destruction against the mainland and coastal islands of China. Now that the Korean war has ended, the United States Government no longer finds it possible to use that war as a pretext for the continued occupation of Taiwan. That is why it has come out openly and fabricated this U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek "Mutual Security Treaty" for the purpose of outright seizure of China's territory of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands.

The "Mutual Security Treaty" between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek cannot be called

defensive in any sense; it is a treaty of naked aggression. The aggressive circles of the United States and those who follow them pretend that the treaty is defensive in character; but such a pretense cannot hide its aggressive nature in any way. Taiwan is China's territory. This is a fact which the United States Government has recognized in such international agreements as the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations and the Instrument of Japanese Surrender, all of which bear its own signature. For the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan is an internal affair of China. Here too the United States Government, in January 1950, acknowledged China's exercise of her sovereign rights over Taiwan and declared its intention not to become involved in the civil conflict in China.

Now the United States Government is erecting fortifications and establishing military bases on the Chinese territory of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, which are 5,000 miles away from the United States. It is shielding the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors which has been repudiated by the 600 million people of China. It is endeavouring to prevent the Chinese people from liberating their own territory of Taiwan. In so doing, the United States Government is committing flagrant violations of international good faith, seizing Chinese territory, infringing upon China's sovereignty and interfering in China's internal affairs—acts which can in no way be described as defensive. It is a genuine act of defence, on the other hand, for the Chinese people to liberate their own territory of Taiwan and to safeguard their national sovereignty and the territorial integrity of their country. The

Japanese militarists, in their time, also represented their seizure of Northeast China in 1931 as an act of self-defence. But nobody believed them. Everyone knows that to seize another country's territory, to infringe upon another country's sovereignty and to interfere in another country's internal affairs is to commit acts of aggression. The Chinese people, tempered in victorious struggle against the Japanese militarist aggression, will never tolerate United States aggression, undertaken under the name of "defence," against China's Taiwan and Penghu Islands.

The "Mutual Security Treaty" between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek is designed to extend aggression and prepare for a new war. It has nothing to do with the maintenance of peace. The aggressive circles of the United States, and those who follow them, are advancing all kinds of arguments to conceal the warlike purpose of this treaty. But this purpose cannot be concealed. It is well-known that since it undertook its armed aggression on Taiwan, the U.S. Government has been aiding and abetting the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang in its war of harassment and destruction against the Chinese mainland, and has never relaxed its efforts in this regard. By this treaty, the United States Government now attempts to legalize the occupation of Taiwan by its naval and air forces, and to secure the right to dispose its ground forces "in and about Taiwan and the Pescadores" with a view to strengthening its military base in Taiwan. By this treaty, the U.S. Government openly attempts to use the threat of war to hinder the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan; and at the same time provides for

further aggression against "other territories" of China. There can be no doubt that the signing of the "Mutual Security Treaty" between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek has increased the danger of the extension of the United States aggression against China.

In his statement on December 1, the United States Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, openly asserted that this treaty forms "another link" in the so-called system of security established by the United States in the Pacific. This shows that the aggressive circles of the United States not only intend to occupy Taiwan and extend their aggression against China, but that they also intend to prepare a new war. The danger of war in Southeast Asia has also been increased by the Manila treaty recently concluded under United States manipulation. It is clear that the aggressive circles of the United States are now trying to form a system of aggression in the East, by linking the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek treaty with the Manila treaty and other war treaties in Asia and the Pacific region. These moves of the aggressive circles of the United States dovetail with their action in Europe, where they master-minded the conclusion of the Paris agreements to revive German militarism and expand the system of aggression in the West. Their aim is to deepen the division of the world, to enslave the peoples in these areas and to accelerate their preparations for a new world war.

All that has been said above shows that the aim pursued by the United States Government in this "Mutual Security Treaty" is not peace, but war. The aggressive circles of the United States are in fact

copying the old tactics used by Japanese militarism in its aggression against China. Nevertheless, there are some who want the Chinese people to forget the lessons of history and accept as the status quo the United States occupation of Taiwan, just as they wish. But the Chinese people will never forget the calamities that ensued from the Mukden Incident of 1931; nor will they forget that the Lukouchiao Incident of 1937 was a sequel to the Mukden Incident. The peoples of Asia and of the Pacific, whose memory of the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941 is still fresh, will also never forget how disastrous were the consequences of the policy of appeasing Japanese militarist aggression. Similarly, the peoples of Europe will never forget that the Munich policy of giving rein to German militarist aggression, was precisely the thing that led to the Second World War. The mistakes of history must not be repeated. The Chinese people are firmly opposed to this U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek treaty for war which endangers the security of China and the peace of Asia. They are also firmly opposed to the Paris agreements which endanger the security of Europe and the peace of the world.

The "Mutual Security Treaty" between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek has created new tensions in the Far East. Nevertheless, there are some who maintain that this treaty will lead to an easing of tension in the Far East. This is the complete opposite of the truth. The United States Government undertook its armed occupation of Taiwan at the same time as it unleashed its war of aggression against Korea and intensified its intervention in war in Indo-China.

Hence from the very beginning, this act has been part of the whole scheme to create tensions in the Far East.

Thanks to the armistice in Korea and the restoration of peace in Indo-China, the tense situation in the Far East began to relax. After the Geneva Conference, with a view to further reducing the tension in the Far East, we reaffirmed in clear terms that the United States should withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Taiwan Straits and stop interfering in China's internal affairs. But the United States Government, far from withdrawing all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Taiwan Straits, directed the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors to become even more reckless in its war of harassment and destruction against the Chinese mainland. That the incessant creation of tensions has been the consistent policy of the United States Government is proved by the facts. For years the United States armed forces have repeatedly invaded China's territorial air and territorial waters. It is not the Chinese armed forces that have invaded the United States' territorial air or territorial waters. The United States has dispatched spies to the Chinese mainland to carry out subversive activities. It is not China that has carried out subversive activities against the United States.

In the Korean armistice, the Korean and Chinese side faithfully implemented the Armistice Agreement and the agreement on the repatriation of prisoners of war. The United States side, on the other hand, violated the agreement on the repatriation of prisoners of war by forcibly retaining more than 20,000 Korean

and Chinese prisoners of war and pressing them into the armies of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek. Even up to now the United States side has not accounted for these 20,000 Korean and Chinese prisoners of war.

With regard to the restoration of peace in Indo-China, China has guaranteed the execution of the Geneva agreements. The United States, on the other hand, not only refused to join in guaranteeing the agreements, but on the contrary concluded the Manila treaty—and is now preparing to arm and train Bao Dai's troops for the purpose of undermining the Geneva agreements.

And now, in an attempt to increase the threat of war and create new tensions in the Far East, the United States Government has concluded its treaty of aggression and war with the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors. All the above facts show that the responsibility for the failure to lessen the tension in the Far East rests entirely on the United States.

The United Nations Charter categorically forbids any infringement of the territorial integrity and political independence of any nation. This principle constitutes the basis of peace between nations. The treaty the United States Government has concluded with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang, like other so-called treaties of defence engineered by the United States, includes a reaffirmation of faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. But all these so-called treaties of defence are in their essence diametrically opposed to the purposes and principles which the United Nations Charter proclaims,

These treaties can only lead to war. They cannot possibly promote peaceful coexistence between nations. These treaties make a mockery of the United Nations Charter. They cannot possibly contribute to the realization of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter or the safeguarding of international peace.

By contrast, the People's Republic of China consistently upholds the principles of safeguarding the national rights of all peoples, and of mutual respect by all states for each other's national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The five principles of peaceful coexistence jointly advocated by China, India and Burma are in full accord with the purposes of the United Nations Charter. We hold the firm conviction that, so long as the nations of the world abide by these five principles, strive to establish and expand areas of peace, and refrain from creating division, states with different social systems can coexist in peace and a world system of collective peace and security can be built up.

The recent Moscow Conference of European Countries has exerted great efforts in this direction, and has won wide support from the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world. But the aggressive circles of the United States and those who follow them are doing all they can to undermine the five principles of peaceful coexistence and obstruct the establishment of a world system of collective peace and security. By these means they are steadily worsening the current international situation both in the East and the West. We hold that all peace-loving countries and peoples of

the world are in duty bound to put an end to the deterioration in the international situation and to redouble their efforts for the safeguarding of international peace.

To this end, the Chinese people make the following declaration solemnly before the whole world:

Taiwan is China's territory. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. Only by liberating Taiwan from the tyranny of the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors can the Chinese people achieve the complete unity of their motherland and further safeguard the peace of Asia and the world. All proposals to set up a so-called "independent state" of Taiwan, to "neutralize" Taiwan or to place Taiwan under "trusteeship" mean, in practice, dismemberment of China's territory, infringement upon China's sovereignty and interference in China's internal affairs. All are therefore utterly unacceptable to the Chinese people.

In order to ease the situation in the Far East, eliminate the threat of war against China and safeguard peace in Asia and the world, the U.S. Government must withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Taiwan Straits. There is no justification whatsoever for the action of the United States in crossing vast oceans to occupy China's territory of Taiwan.

The Chinese people are resolutely opposed to war, but no threats of war will ever frighten them into submission. Should anybody insist on imposing war on the Chinese people, the Chinese people will, without fail, deal determined counter-blows to those who commit such acts of intervention and provocation.

The Chinese people fervently desire peace, but they will never beg for peace at the expense of their territory and sovereignty. To sacrifice territory and sovereignty can only lead to further aggression; it cannot possibly bring about genuine peace. The Chinese people understand that only by resisting aggression can peace be defended.

DECLARATION OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CON- SULTATIVE CONFERENCE

December 25, 1954

The Second National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has held its first plenary session in the capital, Peking. At the session, there was a vigorous discussion of the current situation. The political report made by Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman of the First National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C., was unanimously endorsed.

Our session has been of great historic significance. Taking part in it were representatives of China's nationalities, democratic classes, democratic parties and groups and popular organizations throughout the country, as well as representatives of Chinese nationals living abroad and other patriotic democrats. The number of representatives, as well as of the bodies represented, was greater than in the First National Committee, and their scope was broader. This shows that the great revolutionary unity of the Chinese people is being consolidated and developed as the democratic cause of the Chinese people advances.

Led by the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese people's democratic united front has made important contributions to the great victory of the Chinese people's revolution. It has also been

brilliantly successful, during the past five years, in assisting the government to rally and unite the whole nation for construction and the defence of peace. The Chinese people's democratic united front will continue to play a great role in completing the general task of the state in the period of transition to socialism, and in the struggle against enemies at home and abroad.

To build a prosperous and happy socialist country is the desire of our entire people. We are busy with peaceful labour. We want a peaceful environment, a peaceful world. But the aggressive circles of the United States of America, who want to bring the whole world under their control, have not reconciled themselves to the ignominious defeat they received in China. They have never halted their intervention and aggression against the Chinese People's Republic. Since it began its aggressive war in Korea in June 1950, the United States Government has been in armed occupation of Taiwan, which is China's territory. Now, by signing its so-called Mutual Security Treaty with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang, it is interfering openly in China's internal affairs, openly dismembering the territory of China, openly infringing upon China's sovereignty, openly threatening the Chinese people with war. The Chinese people will not tolerate this.

Our conference is unanimous in its indignation at this grave war-provoking act by the Government of the United States. We hereby pledge to carry through, with all our strength, the Joint Declaration of All Democratic Parties and People's Organizations of the People's Republic of China Concerning the

Liberation of Taiwan issued on August 22, 1954. The Chinese people will never rest until Taiwan is liberated.

Taiwan is China's territory. It was seized by the Japanese militarists 60 years ago. After a protracted struggle, and after victory in their great War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, the Chinese people finally succeeded in bringing Taiwan back to the bosom of the motherland on October 25, 1945. Our compatriots in Taiwan would have long since been liberated were it not for the American aggressors—who openly violated the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations which the United States itself signed, occupied Taiwan with their armed forces and shielded the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors. It must be stressed that the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors was long ago repudiated by the 600 million Chinese people. It has no right whatsoever to sign any treaty with any other country. We will never tolerate the enslavement of our eight million fellow countrymen in Taiwan by the American aggressors and the traitor Chiang Kai-shek. We will never forget the bitter lesson we learned when the Japanese militarists, after first occupying Taiwan and North-east China, proceeded to invade all China. We will never allow the American aggressors to repeat the old game of invading China, in which the Japanese militarists preceded them.

We solemnly warn the aggressive circles of the United States and those who follow them that the time when China could be dismembered at the will of the imperialists has gone. The attempt by the aggressive circles in the United States to occupy Taiwan and extend aggression against China by means of their treaty

with Chiang Kai-shek can only strengthen the Chinese people's determination to liberate Taiwan and put an end to the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang. The Chinese people are resolutely opposed to all the absurd proposals made for the "neutralization" of Taiwan, or an "independent state" there, or "trusteeship" for it, which would in fact mean the carving up of China and assistance to United States aggression.

The Chinese people must liberate Taiwan, put an end to the traitor Chiang Kai-shek and smash the treaty between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek!

That treaty is a component part of the war policy of the United States Government. Unwilling to reconcile itself to its defeats with regard to Korea, Indo-China and the European Army, the United States is accelerating the organization of aggressive military blocs, hostile to the peace-loving nations, in both the East and West. In the East, it is trying to set up an aggressive military system in the Western Pacific by linking the "U.S.-Philippines Mutual Defence Treaty," the "Australia-New Zealand-U.S. Security Treaty," the "U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty," the "U.S.-Republic of Korea Mutual Defence Treaty," the "Southeast Asia Collective Defence Treaty," the "Mutual Security Treaty" between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek and other aggressive treaties. In Europe, the United States and its followers have signed the Paris agreements in an attempt to revive German militarism and rearm West Germany as the aggressive spearhead of the North Atlantic alliance. At the same time, the United States is manoeuvring to organize a military alliance for aggression in the Middle East. Obviously

the aim of the aggressive circles of the United States is to link these various military systems for aggression into a world system, to enslave the peoples of the areas concerned, to widen the division in the world and prepare for a new world war.

The American war plan threatens the whole world. With the horror of the Second World War still fresh in their memories the people of Europe, above all, cannot supinely sit by and watch the resurgence of German militarism.

The recent Moscow Conference of European Countries on Safeguarding European Peace and Security has demonstrated the firm will of European peoples to oppose the Paris agreements, check the war crisis and safeguard European security. The Chinese people actively support the Declaration adopted by the eight nations participating in the Moscow Conference and are resolutely opposed to the Paris agreements. That the French National Assembly refused, on December 24, to ratify the protocol to the Paris agreements on West German rearmament, once again reflects the earnest desire of the French people to oppose war and strive for peace. The Chinese people warmly welcome and support this decision.

We hold that the struggle to oppose the war plan of the United States and to defend world peace is the common concern of all nations and peoples which are for peace.

The Chinese people have always advocated co-operation among nations and the preservation of world peace and security. Our stand corresponds with the interests of the people throughout the world. The

growing strength and firm mutual unity of China, the great Soviet Union, and the other People's Democracies, are a reliable guarantee for world peace and security. The five principles for peaceful coexistence stated jointly by China, India and Burma have won wide support among those nations and peoples which are for peace. The recent development of friendly relations between China on the one hand and India, Burma and Indonesia on the other, has proved that nations with different social systems can coexist peacefully. The Chinese people are strong advocates of the promotion of the five principles for peaceful coexistence, and of the enlargement of the area of peace. We support the aspirations of the Asian, African and Latin American nations for peace and independence. The Chinese people firmly advocate that the efforts for the peaceful unification of Korea be continued. The Chinese people firmly advocate that the agreement on restoration of peace in Indo-China be carried out. The Chinese people support the Joint Declaration on Relations with Japan issued by the Chinese and Soviet governments, and they desire to set up normal relationship with Japan. We are happy to see an ever greater response to this desire among the Japanese people.

The Charter of the United Nations requires that no state encroach upon the territorial integrity and political independence of any other. China will never encroach upon the territorial integrity and political independence of other states, nor will it tolerate any encroachment by other states upon its own territorial integrity and political independence. The toleration of aggression leads to war. The mistakes of history

should not be allowed to repeat themselves. China today is not the China of the time of the "Mukden Incident" (1931); and the world today is not the world of the time of Munich. We are eager for peace, but we will not beg for it at the price of the territory and independence of our country. We are resolutely opposed to war, but we will never be frightened into submission by the threat of war. To safeguard peace, aggression must be opposed. Foreign Minister Chou En-lai has said: "Should anybody insist on imposing war on the Chinese people, the Chinese people will, without fail, deal determined counter-blows to those who commit such acts of intervention and provocation." This is the unanimous determination and firm will of the Chinese people.

To relax international tension, and in the interest of Asian and world peace, the United States Government must withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Taiwan Straits and cease encroaching upon the territory and independence of China. The struggle of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan is a struggle to defend their motherland and safeguard peace. We will not flinch in this struggle.

FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI'S STATE- MENT ON U.S. INTERFERENCE WITH THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN BY THE CHINESE PEOPLE

January 24, 1955

The Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly and in solemn terms declared to the world: The Chinese people are determined to liberate their own territory of Taiwan. Since the recent successful liberation of Yikiangshan Island by the Chinese people, the United States Government has, on the one hand, stepped up its military operations to make war provocations, and has, on the other hand, been engineering a conspiracy for a so-called cease-fire through the United Nations, to intervene in the Chinese people's liberation of Taiwan.

Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory. The liberation of Taiwan is a matter of China's sovereignty and her internal affair; no outside interference is allowed. Article 2, Paragraph 7 of the United Nations Charter explicitly stipulates: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter." Therefore, neither the United Nations nor any foreign country has the

right to intervene in the Chinese people's liberation of Taiwan. The Government of the People's Republic of China absolutely cannot agree to a so-called cease-fire with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang whom the Chinese people have repudiated.

It should be pointed out that when the Chinese people exercised their sovereign rights, liberating the mainland and many coastal islands of China, this never caused any tension in the Far East. The present tension in the Taiwan area can be attributed only to the fact that the United States Government occupies Taiwan, shields the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors and carries on incessant subversive activities and war threats against the People's Republic of China. The so-called Mutual Security Treaty concluded between the United States Government and the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang has heightened this tension and is a serious threat to peace in the Far East. It is obvious that the source of this tension lies with the United States and not with China. This tension will disappear of itself as soon as the United States stops its intervention in China's internal affairs and withdraws all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits.

The so-called cease-fire between the People's Republic of China and the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang which the United States Government and its followers are trying to engineer is in fact an intervention in China's internal affairs for the alienation of China's territory. They are using war threats and brandishing atomic weapons in an attempt to force the Chinese people into tolerating the occupation of Taiwan by the

United States, recognizing the United States-Chiang Kai-shek "Mutual Security Treaty" and permitting the United States to use Taiwan as a military base in preparing a new war. The Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate this; they oppose it firmly.

To safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, to safeguard the security of China and peace in the Far East, the Chinese people must liberate Taiwan, and the United States must stop intervening in China's internal affairs and withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits.

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION IN THE TAIWAN AREA¹

April 23, 1955

"The Chinese people are friendly to the American people.

"The Chinese people do not want to have a war with the United States of America. The Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East, and especially the question of relaxing tension in the Taiwan area."

¹Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China made this statement at a meeting of the heads of the delegations of Burma, Ceylon, China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand to the Asian-African Conference in the afternoon of April 23, discussing the question of reducing tension in the Far East and especially in the Taiwan area.

EXCERPTS FROM THE SPEECH ON THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY DELIVERED BY CHOU EN-LAI, PREMIER AND FOREIGN MINISTER, TO THE FIRST NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AT ITS SECOND SESSION

July 30, 1955

After the Korean armistice and the restoration of peace in Indo-China, the situation in the Taiwan area has become the most tense in the Far East. It must be pointed out that this tension has been caused by the United States' occupation of China's territory Taiwan and its interference with the liberation of China's coastal islands. This is an international issue between China and the United States. The exercise by the Chinese people of their sovereign rights in liberating Taiwan is a matter of China's internal affairs. These two questions cannot be mixed up. During the Asian-African Conference, the Chinese Government already proposed that China and the United States should sit down and enter into negotiations to discuss the question of easing and eliminating the tension in the Taiwan area. There is no war between China and the United States; the peoples of China and the United States are friendly towards each other; the Chinese people want no war with the United States,

so the question of cease-fire between China and the United States does not arise. After the Asian-African Conference, the Chinese Government has further stated that there are two possible ways for the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, namely, by war or by peaceful means. Conditions permitting, the Chinese people are ready to seek the liberation of Taiwan by peaceful means. In the course of the liberation by the Chinese people of the mainland and the coastal islands, there was no lack of precedents for peaceful liberation. Provided that the United States does not interfere with China's internal affairs, the possibility of peaceful liberation of Taiwan will continue to increase. If possible, the Chinese Government is willing to enter into negotiations with the responsible local authorities of Taiwan to map out concrete steps for Taiwan's peaceful liberation. It should be made clear that these would be negotiations between the central government and local authorities. The Chinese people are firmly opposed to any ideas or plots of the so-called "two Chinas."

In conformity with the principle of easing international tensions and settling international disputes through negotiation, the Chinese Government has taken a series of steps to relax the tension between China and the United States. These efforts of the Chinese Government have received warm welcome and support from world public opinion. Many countries have expressed their willingness to offer good offices between China and the United States. The Chinese Government welcomes the efforts of these countries and expresses its thanks.

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